





LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF ILLINOIS

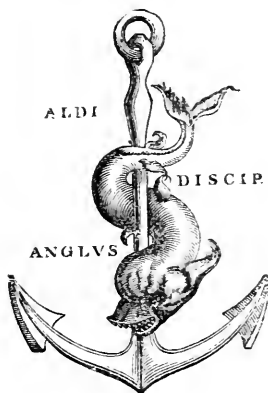


ANGLICANISM CONSIDERED IN
ITS RESULTS.

ANGLICANISM

CONSIDERED IN ITS RESULTS.

BY
WILLIAM DODSWORTH, M.A.
LATE PERPETUAL CURATE OF CHRIST
CHURCH, ST. PANCRAS.



LONDON:
WILLIAM PICKERING.
1851.

CONTENTS.

	Page
I NTRODUCTION.	
The step now taken only the conclusion, but lately and slowly apprehended, from principles long maintained and taught	1
Objections against the Anglican theory have met with no attempt to answer them, save one since retracted .	2
Reproach of deserting the Establishment in its hour of danger	4
But the Establishment itself acquiesces in what certain of its members deplore	5
And deserting the Establishment is, in fact, pronouncing that it is no part of the Church	6
Objection that baptismal regeneration has not been denied, but only made an open question	6
The "open question" denies the high-churchman's belief, and the low-churchman's, at once	7
Subscription to the Queen's supremacy, which is now decided to be spiritual	8
Charges against the <i>manner</i> of conversions	9

The system in which a man has been educated has the first claim upon him	13
Modified by the fact that the <i>whole</i> religion which comes from God is adapted to the wants of man : so that the apprehension of the truth, which he has already attained, will render him capable of appreciating the more perfect development of that truth	14
Illustration from an Anglican teaching a dissenter	15

	Page
An Anglican finds in Catholicism the realization of the church principles which he had imbibed	16
Proposal to consider the legitimate results of what is called Anglicanism	17
These difficulties do not refer to low-churchmen, who have their own of another class	18
I. The Unity of the Church	18
How this is not fulfilled in Anglicanism	19
A. In reference to the Anglican church's connection with the Church Catholic	19
B. In reference to its own internal state	19
A. Anglican church not one with the Catholic Church in doctrine, nor in communion, nor in prayers	19
Objection that unity, like sanctity, is partial	20
But unity does not admit of degrees, which sanctity does	21
Objection that the Anglican church wishes to be one with the Catholic	22
The wish does not answer the contrary fact	22
Objection that the Anglican church is not responsible for the sin and evil of division	22
Annon, we must refer to the origin of the division	23
<i>First</i> , suppose that the Synod of London, in 1562, was free to act, and did act without reference to the state: consequences considered	23-7
<i>Secondly</i> , the Reformation was really an act of the State, and the wickedness of its agents must be considered	27
Objection that we can ignore the character of the Reformation and its agents	29
But present difficulties, thence arising, do not allow it	29
Again, the Anglican church is not an appellant to a General Council, for both the judicial and the legislative divisions of the local church, under the Queen, are final	30
Objection that infallible guidance is guaranteed only to an united Church	32
But it is rather guaranteed to the Church that it may be united	33
Again, whom can the Anglican, compelled to pronounce Rome wrong, believe to be right?	33

	Page
His professed rule is, Scripture interpreted by early tradition	34
Uncertainty of this, and inconsistency in details . . .	34
Again, on what principles do Anglicans reject the witness of the medieval Church, since the promise which gives <i>infallibility</i> insures <i>abidance</i>	35
Result, that the Anglican church has no consistent theory of unity	36
B. Want of internal unity in Anglicanism	36
II. The doctrine of Sacramental Grace	38
Feebleness and equivocation of Anglican formularies, and existence of an heretical school for three hundred years, on the subject of Baptism	39
The same on the subject of the Real Presence . . .	41
But silence upon, or rather exclusion of, the Eucharistic Sacrifice	44
This Sacrifice, if considered such, seldom offered . .	45
And actually rejected by the vast majority of Anglican churchmen	47
III. The actual state of the existing Established Church . .	49
IV. Interference of the civil power in matters of a purely spiritual nature	53
V. Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles	70
1. Article VI.	70
2. Articles XI. XII. XIII.	72
3. Article XIX.	73
4. Article XXI.	76
5. Article XXII.	78
6. Article XXV.	79
7. Article XXVIII.	81
8. Article XXIX.	85
9. Article XXXI.	85
10. Article XXXV.	89
11. Article XXXVIII.	89
Concluding considerations	90

	Page
Difficulties meeting Anglicans in Rome	90
1. The devotion to the saints	93
2. Use of relics and images	98
3. The charge of idolatry	99
4. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception	101
5. Communion in one kind	101
6. Purgatory	102
7. The Papal Supremacy	102
Note on Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, and on the Bishop of Exeter's "Considerations"	107
Note on the Bull of Pope Pius V.	111

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGREGATION
OF CHRIST CHURCH, ST. PANCRAS.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

BEFORE these lines reach you, you will have learned, that the relationship so long subsisting between us has ceased, and that I have submitted myself to the authority of the Catholic Church.

I will not dwell upon the struggle, which, as most of you well know, this act has cost me. But I feel that you are entitled to know the grounds upon which I have so determined, and the following pages are sent to the press with a view of giving you, as far as may be within so short a compass, that information. I cannot doubt but that, upon mature reflection, these reasons will appear in various degrees satisfactory to many amongst you ; because they are indeed but the legitimate results flowing from those truths which it has been my aim to teach you. I need not say, that of these results, until very recently, I have not been myself fully conscious. I admit indeed that as I have laboured more and more fully to preach the Gospel—to set forth our Lord Jesus Christ “ the Author and Finisher of your faith ” as filling His sacraments with life and power, or, to use the words of a father (S. Ambrose), to show that

“ Christ is not only the Author of all the sacraments, but also their invisible minister, that, He it is Who baptises, He it is Who absolves, although men are appointed by Him the external ministers of the sacraments”—I admit, I say, that while thus teaching you, misgivings have arisen in my mind as to whether the Church of England was truthful and scriptural. Such thoughts have occasionally crossed and perplexed me. But, having been once so thoroughly convinced that the church of England was the true Church of Christ in this country, and that she held and taught all Catholic truth—these misgivings were at first resisted as temptations; and it has only been by very slow degrees, after more reading and deeper consideration, assisted by passages in the recent history of the Established Church, that I have been forced seriously to entertain them, and far too slowly have they, by little and little, grown into convictions. At length, by God’s undeserved grace and blessing, I am convinced that it is my bounden duty, on peril of my salvation, to submit myself to the authority of the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church.

I would beseech you then, my dear friends, to ponder over the conclusions imperfectly set forth in the following pages, and see whether they do not indeed follow from the intelligent reception of those truths which I would fain hope are equally dear to us both.

And here I would wish you to notice what ought to have considerable weight with every candid mind, namely, that the powerful arguments, which in late years have been brought against the so called Anglican theory, and in favour of the Catholic Church

have literally met with no attempt to answer them. Anglicans have simply ignored these arguments. The members of the low Church party, have indeed shown no indisposition to enter the lists with Rome. The old high Church school has written something, although very little, against her in recent times. But the Anglican school has said literally nothing, if we except Mr. Allies' book, (now amply retracted) on "the church of England cleared from schism." I am not aware that since the discontinuance of the "Tracts for the Times" a single controversial work against Rome worth speaking of, has proceeded from the Anglican school. No, nor one which attempts to justify in any detail the position of Anglicans. And this in times certainly not the least eventful to the English church. Much has been written by Roman Catholics, especially by recent converts, to show the untenableness of the Anglican position. Arguments have been adduced, at least worthy of being answered, *but no answer has been attempted*. Now I must think this to be a sign. I do not indeed mean to say, that every man is to be at once convinced by an argument which he cannot answer. I fully admit that it is a very fair position for any one to take up *for a time* to say, "Well, here is an argument which I cannot answer, but that does not prove that it cannot be answered. Some one else may disprove it, or further reading and consideration may enable me to disprove it. I am not to be carried hither and thither by every clever assailant whom I may happen to meet with." This, I say, seems to me a very fair position. But when argument after argument is adduced, in times too when men's wits are fully at

work ; when certain results are clearly shown to follow from certain avowed principles ; when this goes on not for days or weeks or months, but for years ; surely it is time for men to look about them. They may not honourably keep a position which they cannot defend themselves, and which, in fact, finds no defenders ; or continue to avow principles while they deny their results. Men have no right to go on for ever simply ignoring arguments which seem to prove them wrong. We are rational creatures. Reason has its province, as well as faith. Anglicans as well as others may indeed if they choose, in the depth of their prejudices, say, We cannot and will not submit to Rome ; but then why do not they relinquish the principles which legitimately lead them thither ? Let them not pretend to that which they really have not. Let us see where the conflict really lies : not between Rome, and Anglicanism which has nothing to say for itself ; but between Rome, and those who will pronounce the chief bishop of Christ's Church to be antichrist ; between Rome, and those who would involve thousands of saints in a system of IDOLATRY ! between Rome and Evangelicalism, which, professing to rest on the Bible, repudiates the Church which gave it the Bible—and so at last between Rome and Infidelity, where I am persuaded the real conflict will be found to be.

But here I must notice a reproach which at this time is thrown upon converts to the Catholic Church. It is said that we are deserting the Church in her peril ; —that it is an act of cowardice to go out of her now in her hour of danger ; that recent difficulties, so far from driving us from her, ought to bind us closer to

her, and much is said about faint-heartedness and despondency, &c. But now let any one consider what such reproaches really mean. Can it really be pretended that the Establishment is in that kind of danger which such reproaches indicate? I admit that if it were under persecution it would be a very different matter. If, for instance, instead of acquiescing in the recent sentence of the judicial committee in the Gorham case and the execution of the law, English Churchmen had been willing to make great sacrifices; if the bishops and clergy had taken joyfully the spoiling of their goods rather than betray the cause of their master; if the laity had given some substantial proofs of their zeal; such a state of things would have made it very difficult to leave the Establishment at this moment; it would not only have opened the door to unworthy imputations, but, what is more important, it would have made such an appeal to generous feelings as it would have been very difficult to resist.*

But what is now the real position of the Establishment? Simply one of non-resistance, of acquiescence in what the state pleases to dictate to it. The troubles which its worthier members feel, arise

* The Catholic Church furnishes examples of men who are willing to make sacrifices to preserve her independence, and choose to suffer rather than yield up her sacred prerogatives to the civil power. The Archbishops of Turin and Cagliari are at this moment driven into exile, having suffered the loss of all things rather than betray what seems to them a sacred trust. Into the merits of their cause this is not the place to enter. Suffice it to say, that in their case the invasion of the civil power is, confessedly, immeasurably less important, and less affecting vital matters, than it is in the recent case of the Established church.

from that source alone. I distinguish here, as elsewhere, between persons in the Establishment, and the Establishment itself. I do not charge upon *them* acquiescence in the present state of things: but their trouble is that the church of England itself does so acquiesce. Does it then indicate courage to cling to it under such circumstances? Is not courage rather on the side of those who leave it; and who make sacrifices of untold bitterness, to maintain their principles, to satisfy their conscience, and to obey their God?

Or again, the reproach assumes the very point which is denied. To desert THE CHURCH would indeed be unjustifiable under any circumstances. The fact of our desertion is the very strongest expression of a conviction that the Establishment is no part of the Church at all. Suppose a rebellion to be raging in the land, and the royal and rebel forces to be facing each other, and suppose a loyal subject betrayed by mistake into the midst of the rebel force, —is it any want of loyalty or of courage or of devotion to his country, that he should openly leave the rebel camp, and enrol himself under the standard of his sovereign? This is *professedly* the position of converts to the Catholic Church. Of course it is open to any one to prove it to be otherwise. That is another question. But the charge of cowardice or pusillanimity can have no place.

Again it has been said, that recent events ought not to operate with such urgent pressure on Anglicans. The recent decision on baptism does not deny to them the right of teaching their doctrine. If the decision had been the other way, as I have heard it

asserted, it might have formed a just ground for the evangelical party to have quitted the Establishment ; for such a decision would have forbidden them to teach what they believe to be true. And it is well known that some of that school were prepared to resign their benefices under those circumstances, had they arisen. But, as it is said, this decision simply leaves the question “ open,” and gives to each one authority to teach as his conscience dictates.

Now this opinion is founded upon an erroneous notion of what the high-church doctrine is. I will not here refer to what has been so frequently and so justly urged of late, of the impiety of making an essential doctrine of the Christian faith an open question, which, surely, no high-churchman, true to his own principles, can submit to : but I here speak of what the high-church doctrine really is, a point which has been much misunderstood. It is not then, simply that the doctrine of baptismal regeneration in the opinion of high-churchmen is true ; but it is that such is the exclusive doctrine of the Church Catholic ; that it expresses not an opinion, but a vital truth. Now, by the recent judgment, no clergyman of the established Church can teach what he thus believes to be true. He may teach baptismal regeneration as true *in his belief*, it is admitted. But he may not teach that *this is exclusively the truth of the Church*. Yet this *is* the high-churchman’s belief. I am at a loss therefore to perceive how this alternative of the decision is not just as much *a matter of conscience* with the high-churchman, as the opposite alternative would have been with the low-churchman. In either case, one side *is forbidden to teach what it*

believes to be true. Whatever the judgment had been, the principles of one side or of the other must have been compromised. As it happened, the judicial committee advised a judgment which has compromised both.

Again, on the subject of jurisdiction every clergyman is compelled to subscribe to a declaration of the Queen's supremacy, which is now virtually decided by almost all the highest courts in the realm to extend over matters most purely spiritual. Moreover, at his ordination he most solemnly bound himself to minister the doctrine of Christ, "as this Church and Realm hath received the same."

It is therefore no matter of choice with the high-churchman whether he will leave the Establishment, or stay in it, and not believe or teach this doctrine. If he stays in it, he is bound, on all moral grounds, to believe and teach that the church of England has no exclusive doctrine on baptismal regeneration, and that it allows, nay, requires submission to such a supremacy as is above described.

It may be felt perhaps that this argument, however conclusive upon the clergy, can have no influence upon the laity, who are bound by no subscription. But still it remains for them to consider, whether they can in conscience belong to a body, whose authorized ministers are required to believe and to teach such things. Every argument which tells directly upon the clergy, will indirectly, but ultimately, with equal force tell upon the laity.

But further ; converts to the Catholic Church are very frequently blamed, not only for their conversion itself, but for the manner and method of it. Some-

times it seems too abrupt, too much on impulse. Sometimes the charge of dishonesty is brought, because it seems to have been too long delayed, and people wonder how the converts can have gone on so long in the church of England with such misgivings about her position.

Now it is much to be wished that persons who so accuse us would more seriously consider, and try to answer, the following question;—Assuming that conversion itself is justifiable, (for that is the only fair way to put it) what would be an unexceptionable mode of effecting it? Conviction with very few can be instantaneous, and even where it is so, it cannot be regarded as the most satisfactory kind of conviction. Suppose then any one to begin to have some misgivings about his position in the church of England, is he at once to proclaim them to the world? That will scarcely be maintained, for it would practically cut him off from all retreat; whereas it might be, in the case supposed, that further consideration would prove to him that his misgivings are unfounded. This would be a most unfair course towards the church of England. Is it not his duty to pause until these misgivings have taken some definite form, or until they shall be removed? Must he not shun the responsibility of suggesting to others difficulties which, on the supposition, may exist only in the perversity of his own mind? Surely charity demands this of him. In the meanwhile he must continue to throw himself into that system to which he belongs, and still work heartily in it. Any other course would be most treacherous. Of course he cannot avow a confidence

which he does not feel. But suppose him, for instance, to have a *misgiving* about the reality of sacramental grace in the church of England. Surely no law human or divine can require that he should *at once* proclaim it—or, which would be the same thing, that he should at once abstain from receiving holy communion. Rather the plainest dictates of duty to himself, and charity to others require an opposite course. He may not think it right to act upon *convictions* even, until they have been sufficiently tested and proved.

These considerations may go far to account for a feature in many conversions to the Catholic Church, which has proved an offence to protestants;—I mean the very decided and seemingly abrupt character of the change. As for instance that they should be this week attending the services of the established Church, and the next asserting their belief that it forms no part of the Church of Christ. Let it be borne in mind that such persons for the most part, have long lived in the settled conviction that there is but One Holy Catholic Church. THIS IS WITH THEM A FIRST PRINCIPLE. The question which circumstances have forced upon their minds has been—Is the Church of England a portion of that one Church? Being already in it, so long as they have a reasonable hope upon that point, they dare not leave it. But being once convinced that it is not, they can hold no terms with it. It must be to them everything or nothing—nay, worse than nothing, for then it usurps the sole prerogatives of our Lord's Body. I grant that if it were a mere matter of preference—a choice between one portion of the Church and the

other ; or as has been suggested “the working in another part of the vineyard” under the same Master—then indeed such apparently sudden transitions would be unreasonable—not to say culpable. Then our language might be, the church of England is good, but the church of Rome is better. But this is a total misapprehension of the ground upon which alone conversion is justifiable. A convert leaves the church of England, because he believes that salvation cannot be obtained in it, and through it ; because he believes the Catholic Church to be *Ecclesia, extra quam non est salus*, and that the Establishment is no part of that Church. On these principles how can he do otherwise than at once hold the decisive language which has been so much blamed ?

But let me not be misunderstood. In what is here said, it is not of course intended to deny that there may be many persons in the church of England, as in other communions, who may be saved. It is a tenet of the Catholic Church that “invincible ignorance” of the precept* may take off the condemning character in the sin of resisting or denying her claims. Who will be able on the great day validly to urge that plea is a most serious question, especially when we remember that there is such a thing

* I say, invincible ignorance *of the precept*. Some Protestants seem to think that it is an insulting imputation to have their opposition to the Catholic Church ascribed to “invincible ignorance.” But this is to misunderstand the meaning of the term. It may be, and probably is in most cases, an ignorance which arises simply from *prejudice*. And we do not need to be taught that persons otherwise most learned, most acute, and even most candid, have been often the victims of some unconquerable prejudice.

as *wilful* ignorance, for which no excuse can be pleaded. But these are not the cases with which we are dealing here. We *are assuming the fact* that converts, after many struggles it may be, have arrived at the conviction that the Holy Roman Catholic Church is the one only Church of Christ, and then assuredly the most decisive language as to the claims of other communions, is the language both of Truth and Charity.

My dear friends,

Can I speak words more strongly expressive of the earnest hope and expectation which I venture to entertain, that many amongst you may be brought, by God's infinite mercy, to follow this most painful, but as I am now assured, most blessed course of submitting to that Body which our Divine Lord left as His representative on earth ; and which is declared, by His Apostle, to be " THE PILLAR AND GROUND OF THE TRUTH ? "

ANGLICANISM CONSIDERED IN ITS RESULTS.

IT seems to be incumbent upon every one who leaves the religious communion in which he has been born, or brought up, to be able to assign his reasons for taking such a very serious step. For unless he can assign reasons, which seem to be satisfactory to himself, it is obviously his duty to remain where he is. Every professing Christian must be in one of two states. Either he knows little or nothing about religion to any practical purpose; in which case he cannot be a fit judge of his duty in the case supposed; or otherwise, he must have come to the knowledge of religion, and its consequent blessings, chiefly through that communion in which he has been educated. He will be able to say, that through the care and authority of parents or teachers, he has been brought to the knowledge and practice of all that he values, and of all upon which he can rest his hopes for eternity. This then raises a reasonable prejudice in favour of the system in which he has hitherto lived.

Thus, whether a person has been brought up as a Catholic, or in the established church or in dissent, his religious prepossessions are naturally and justly on the side of his own communion. This has been as the voice of God *to him*. Whatever he knows of himself, and of his GOD and SAVIOUR, has

come to him through this channel. He knows what he cannot in the same way know of any other system,—he knows by his own experience that the truths learned through his own system have had a wholesome and sanctifying effect on his heart. He knows that he has been made a better man by them, and this naturally and justly comes home to his heart, as most powerfully verifying the soundness and truthfulness of what he has learned. This consideration is, and indeed it ought to be, more weighty than any mere abstract argument, however apparently solid and convincing. It is an argument which reaches his conscience, and to an earnest minded person, is more touching and influential than any mere conviction of the understanding can be.

Perhaps then, it would seem to follow, that conversion from one system to another can scarcely take place on any right ground. For as all Christian systems have some truth in them, and each one in his own communion may learn at least so much truth as is in it, it will follow that each one, who is in earnest, will have a higher proof that he is right, than he possibly can have that he is wrong, and so will abide in “the same calling wherein he has been called.”

This would seem to be a legitimate conclusion, but for another truth which most immediately bears on the subject before us—I mean that THE RELIGION which comes from GOD—not a mere part or portion of it only, but the whole, is adapted to the wants and necessities of man; that it is spiritual food designed to meet the cravings of his soul. GOD who made the soul of man capable of appreciating truth, is Himself THE TRUTH; and so it must be, that a soul, truly

in earnest, and diligently pursuing the highest good, can be satisfied with nothing short of perfection. Whatever be its present attainments or apprehensions, it will ever be assaying to reach higher things. Hence it will follow that to an earnest minded Christian the perception of truth in his own system will be no hindrance to his perception of the defects which may be in that system. Nay, the very apprehension of truth to which he has already attained, will render him more capable of appreciating the more perfect developement of that truth. Of course it would be different if his more perfect attainment involved the denial of what had already come home to his conscience as true. But if it be only the expanding and perfecting and carrying forward this truth, he will be in a position in which he will the more readily pursue it.

To illustrate this ; Suppose an Anglican aiming to convince a pious dissenter of his errors ; he would be a very unwise man, if he set about this task by adducing some abstract arguments on the errors of dissent ;—suppose, for instance, he took up the question of Apostolical succession in a dry and technical way, enforced it by critical expositions of Scripture, and laboured to prove that our present bishops are in succession descended from the apostles ; thus reducing the dissenter to this difficulty, that as grace was promised through such a succession, and as the dissenters have not got it, therefore they are without grace. It is probable that in such a case the dissenter would feel that he had a conviction within his own heart and soul, which would overbear all such arguments. Feeling, as he believes, God's grace to be

in him, he would regard as trifling, arguments which go to show that he was without it. Nor could he be much blamed for so doing. But now suppose the Anglican were to proceed in a different manner. Suppose he were to begin by acknowledging and honouring some great truth appreciated by the dissenter, say, union with our Lord. He might try to lead him on to higher and deeper thoughts of this great mystery, showing how the Church and the Church alone fully developed it. Then, assuming that the doctrine of the Church is true, and that the dissenter is really in earnest, we must believe that as a necessary and obvious consequence, he would soon become conscious of the defects of his own system. He would become alive to the importance of the sacramental element in religion. The higher doctrines of our faith would come to him not under the aspect of abstract formal theories, but as setting forth spiritual realities, giving meaning, power, substance and enlargement to truths which he already valued. Thus he would begin to discover the practical defects and difficulties of his own religion.*

Now this may serve to illustrate the way in which many Anglicans come to feel the defects and difficulties of the system in which they have been brought

* Of course this argument is used without any intended disparagement to the authority of the dogmatic teaching of the Church. Let it be apprehended by any one that any doctrine is from God, and he is bound to believe it and to act upon it, without any consideration of its moral or spiritual fitness to his wants. I am only speaking of truths of which no such apprehension exists. Of course its absence in any given case may be very culpable: but that is a different subject.

up, or to which they have long adhered. It is not that they begin to repudiate truths which they have hitherto valued; but their difficulties rather arise from these truths having obtained a fuller possession of their minds; and because they seem to carry with them conclusions, and to involve consequences, which their own system will not support or tolerate. This is perhaps the only right way in which they can approach such difficulties. Their own system, in which they have learned so much to enlighten and direct them, has the first claim upon their allegiance. But when they find that these very truths involve higher conclusions, and can only be vindicated and realized in something beyond the system in which they have lived — this conviction may fairly be considered as “the finger of God” beckoning them forward. “Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.” “If any man will do the will of God he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.”

Keeping therefore this principle in view, I propose to consider what are the legitimate results of that system which passes under the name of Anglicanism; — by which term I mean more particularly that system of religion which is adopted by the high-church school in the Establishment. The practical results which I mean to point out are those which affect the allegiance of Anglicans to the established church, and their continuance in it. The difficulties then involved in these results are such as will not be felt to be difficulties by the low-church school. Men of that party have indeed difficulties

enough of their own—difficulties which one may suppose have risen to a climax, since after having expended the severest censures upon men who were driven to “a non-natural sense” in their exposition of the “articles,” they are compelled to adopt the very same “figure of speech” in their interpretation of the ritual of the established church.

The recent decision in the Gorham case, however distressing to high-churchmen, can certainly be no triumph to those of the opposite school: for it decides that the doctrine of “baptismal regeneration,” considered by them as “soul-destroying,” may be taught in the church of England, as equally true, and of equal authority, with their own doctrine. In fact both parties, if true to their own principles, are put in a self-destructive position by this decision.

The difficulties however of which I have to speak are those alone which beset the high-church party in maintaining their principles, and yet continuing in their allegiance to the established church. This must be specially borne in mind as the ground of the following argument. The first difficulty I will mention is that which has reference to

I. THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

I need scarcely remark upon the great stress which Anglicans justly lay upon this note of the Church. The enforcement of unity has ever been a leading feature in the teaching of high-churchmen. It was one main doctrine urged in the “Tracts for the Times.” Every person of church-principles must

acknowledge the importance and necessity of the article of the Christian Faith: "I believe in One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church."

It is a difficulty which must meet the Anglican on the very threshold of his enquiries, that, even upon his own theory, UNITY does not seem to be realized as a fact in the English church. This is a difficulty which does not oppress low-churchmen, because they resolve the doctrine into that invisible bond, which, as they say, unites together all real christians of whatever denomination. They do not believe the Church to be a visible body. But the Anglican utterly rejects this theory. It enters as an element into his definition of the Church that it is VISIBLE. His difficulty then is to discover the principle of unity as existing in that body to which he belongs. The difficulty may be contemplated under two aspects; 1. In reference to the connection of the English church with the Church Catholic; 2. In reference to its own internal character.

1. Now with respect to the first of these aspects, it is a startling difficulty at first sight that *as a matter of fact*, the church of England is in a state of separation from what the Anglican regards as the rest of the Catholic Church. He considers the whole Church Catholic to consist of the Roman communion the Greek communion and the Anglican communion (including of course the American.) In point of fact, then, the English church is cut off from the rest of the Catholic Church. Try it by the apostolic test of unity, and it cannot be regarded as one either with the Latin or Greek communion. To try it by the Latin communion which most concerns us as part

of the western Church ; it is not ONE " in doctrine," unless the thirty-nine Articles are identical with the creed of Pope Pius ; it is not ONE " in fellowship," as the estrangement between Roman Catholics and Anglicans sufficiently testifies ; it is not ONE " in breaking of bread," for the Roman church will not admit Anglicans to her altars ; it is not ONE " in prayers ;" for Roman Catholics will not enter into Anglican churches, nor do members of the Establishment, I suppose, as a matter of fact, unite with Catholics in their devotions to any appreciable extent.

The *fact* then is sufficiently obvious, that the English church is not ONE with the Catholic Church. If the church of England is a branch of the Catholic Church, and also the Roman is a branch (which no Anglican denies), then the fact that the Catholic Church is not one stares us in the face with an obviousness not to be evaded. And this *fact* of itself apart from any other consideration is a very great difficulty. For it needs to be shewn how the Church of Christ can exist upon the earth, while this *essential* element in its being is absent. If the Church is not ONE, it is not that Church in which we profess one faith, in the Creed.

In reply to this it has been sometimes urged that the note of unity is as much realized in the Church, in the Anglican sense of the term, as any other note is ; as for instance, sanctity. The Church must be HOLY as truly as it must be ONE. Yet no one will pretend to say that sanctity is perfectly developed in the existing church under any theory of its visibility. But here the different nature of these two qualities is overlooked. Unity is a quality which

in its own nature admits of no degrees. A thing must be either one, or more than one. It cannot be partly one and partly two or more. But sanctity clearly admits of measures and degrees. We call a man holy, who may yet admit of being far more holy than he is. But no man can be more one than he is. In like manner the unity of the Church is an absolute quality. To say that unity is broken, is to say that unity no longer exists. It becomes something not merely different, but in this respect contrary to what it was before. It becomes two, or more, and not one.

If it should be said that this argument is of a kind too abstract and philosophical to be applied to this subject, and that the definition of unity here insisted upon is too rigid—it may fairly be asked of those who make the objection to furnish any definition of unity which will really and practically constitute the church of Rome and the church of England, ONE BODY. The reception of the Creeds has sometimes been adduced as the uniting bond. But surely this would require not merely the words, but *the meaning* of the creeds to be understood. And then where would be the unity, when each party explained its meaning of the Article, “One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church?” If it should be said that “the apostolic succession” is the bond, this would be no great improvement on the abstract and rigid character of the definition. Besides, would the Anglican admit a definition which would include Nestorians, and Monophysites and a host of other heretics?

But again, it is said, that so far as Anglicans are

concerned the church of England would be one with the rest of the Catholic Church if it could ; as Anglicans will say, ‘ We do not refuse communion to other Catholics ; it is they that refuse it to us. The fault of the division is not on our side, but on theirs.’ How far this is a just view of the matter we will consider by and by. In the mean while, I observe, that, if it be granted, the Anglican difficulty remains the same, namely that the Church *is* divided. The Catholic theory is at least consistent. It admits of but one church, comprehending all in communion with the See of Rome, and no others. Nay, *its theory* would be vindicated by maintaining that the one Church is that in communion with the See of Canterbury ; for then *the theory of unity* would still be upheld. But the difficulty which besets the Anglican is, that while he admits the church of Rome to be a true church (though as he says corrupt) he maintains that another body, not in communion with it, nay, antagonistic to it, is also a true church. So that he seems to maintain that the Church is one and two at the same time, which is absurd.

But here another argument is urged in favour of the Anglican position. Anglicans say, ‘ Although we cannot blind our eyes to the fact that the Church is divided, and that unity is broken, we trust that we are not responsible for the sin and the evil attending on this lamentable state of things ; we are obliged to submit to what we cannot help ; we would willingly be at one with Rome, if she would refrain from enforcing upon us unlawful terms of communion. Here is the difficulty, and Rome is responsible for it, not

we. At any rate we appeal from the decision of Rome in this matter. We appeal to the decision of a general council. We are in the position of appellants, in a provisional state, waiting for an authoritative decision upon the points which divide Rome and us.'

Now in order to examine into the weight and sufficiency of this argument, we must consider the original cause or occasion of the separation. How have we come in this divided state? Once the Church of England was in communion with the Churches of France, Belgium, Germany, Spain, Italy, and the rest of the Latin Communion. How comes it then that this communion is broken?

First, we will treat of this question apart from all consideration of the interference of the temporal power. This is the most favourable view for the Anglican, because it leaves out of the account that Erastian element in the church of England which most distresses him.

We will then, in the first place suppose that the church of England, uninfluenced by any lower or worldly motives, assembled in synod about three hundred years ago, and determined that certain doctrines and practices which had for a time obtained in the Church Catholic were erroneous or corrupt, and ought to be renounced and discontinued. With a view of carrying out this decision, the synod drew up certain articles condemnatory of those doctrines and practices, to which it required the subscription of all who should minister in this church.

Now on what authority did the synod of London proceed in this important work? If, as I have said,

we, for a moment, leave out of view all consideration of temporal influence, we must suppose that it proceeded on that authority derived from our Lord, founded on His promise, that He would guide His Church into all truth. The synod must have acted upon the ground of that promise of holy guidance, given to the Universal Church—a promise which might be pleaded by any church acting within its own sphere, subject of course to those higher decisions of the universal Church, to which the promise would primarily and most emphatically apply ; — I say this must have been so, because on no other conceivable ground can any set of men require subscription to religious dogmas, *as a matter of duty*. The Church is not a mere club or association in which the majority of members have a right to enact their own terms of union, and from which, of course, those who dissent have a right to withdraw themselves. If this were so there could be little practical hardship inflicted on the dissentients. If they did not like this association, they might form another. But the Church is a divinely constituted Body, from which it is sinful to separate. How then can any men possessing authority within the Church have a right to exact subscription from their brethren except upon the plea that they are themselves guided by the Holy Ghost? * Hence all ecclesiastical synods are opened with the special invocation of the Holy

* “ In Protestant bodies subscription to Articles is always understood to be subordinate to the principle of private interpretation There are as many faiths therefore as there are subscribers What one man has asserted another man may question . . . Sub-

Ghost. One man's private interpretation of Scripture, or of the Church's doctrine, is as good as another's; or as good as the private interpretation of a hundred of others; for mere numbers are no security against error. But the point which I am labouring to prove will surely not be disputed by any Anglican, namely, that the council or synod of London, which sat three hundred years ago, considered itself as acting under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit—and *on this ground* urged upon the English clergy the *duty* of subscription.

Now, it so happened that another council or synod was sitting about the same time in an acknowledged branch of the Catholic Church. Waving for a moment the question of whether the council of Trent has a claim to be considered a General or Œcumenical Council, it cannot, at least, be denied by any Anglican, that it had equal and co-ordinate authority with the synod of London. It had at least *equal* right to impose the duty of subscription to its dogmas. It could plead the same promise. It might assert the same authority. Here, then, are two synods according to the Anglican theory, in different branches of the One Church, possessing an equal authority. The result is on one side the thirty-nine Articles, and on the other side, the decrees of Trent. Now, these two documents either agree with each other or they do not; and in either case the An-

scription therefore as it is required in the Church of England implies a belief in the guiding care of that Divine Spirit to whose decisions individual consciences are bound to defer." *Archdeacon Wilberforce on the Incarnation*, p. 533.

glican is placed in a great dilemma. For, first, if the thirty-nine Articles agree substantially with the decrees of Trent, then the division in the Church is more inexcusable; and since this agreement is not pretended on the Roman side, but is made out by bringing the meaning of the thirty-nine Articles into conformity with the decrees of Trent, the blame of the division plainly rests on the Anglican side. For if the Anglican maintains that the thirty-nine Articles only mean, what the council of Trent has expressed in another way, why should not he subscribe to its decrees, and put an end to the division? But I should suppose that this side of the alternative is held by very few. It was the object of the famous No. 90, of the "Tracts for the Times" to uphold it: but from the reception which that Tract has generally met with, especially from all the English bishops, it may be concluded that the theory has been repudiated.

But then the other side of the alternative involves the Anglican in equal difficulty. For if the decisions of the synods of London and Trent are discordant, who is to decide between them? Plainly, the only appeal, which he will allow, is to a General Council. Is the Anglican then, willing to abide the issue of such an appeal? No: he cannot, consistently with his own principles, do so, because the twenty-first Article of religion declares that "General Councils may err, and sometimes have erred." But who is to judge when they do err? Each one, as it would seem, for himself. So that here we arrive at the foundation on which the Anglican faith rests, which is each one's PRIVATE JUDGMENT. How this can be reconciled

with the language of another article, the twentieth, which declares that “the Church has *authority* in controversies of faith,” does not readily appear, unless it be that by “authority” is only meant that power which in every club or association must be vested somewhere for the purpose of maintaining its existence; for no body can long hold together without some government.*

In these observations, I have been assuming that the promoters of the Reformation were influenced by considerations of the Church’s welfare alone. And it appears that if the Reformation in England had had no other object in view, than to correct abuses, and had been influenced by no other motive than that of the desire of correcting them; still even in that point of view, it has pursued a course which has led the English church into an unjustifiable position.

But we must, in all fairness, take a wider view of the subject, and not leave out of our consideration those other influences which, to say the least, mainly contributed to bring about the Reformation in England. Can any one who reads the history of those times, doubt that the separation of England from Rome was mainly brought about by the atrocious wickedness of Henry VIII.? In considering how the church of England came into its present position, can we fairly

* The Articles, originally, were not chargeable with this inconsistency. The clause “hath authority in controversies of faith” did not exist in king Edward’s Articles; but is said to have been inserted by queen Elizabeth herself, with what intention may be very easily surmised;—not certainly to invest the Church with any power against the Sovereign.

leave out of view the conduct and character of those through whom the separation was effected, as (for example) the unworthy servility of Cranmer, the protestantism (for I am addressing Anglo-Catholics) even of Ridley, as well as Hooper, Latimer, and Jewell ? Or, again, at a later period, the influence of foreign protestants who were formally separated from "the Apostolic Church ?" Then when we consider how much actual wickedness was perpetrated in direct connection with the Reformation ; as for instance, the suppression of Religious houses, and consequent abolition of the conventual life, the sacrilegious desecration of churches, and spoliation of their property devoted to religious uses, the profaneness and irreverence, and other such characteristics associated with it : we shall find no little difficulty in tracing it to a good and holy source. Unquestionably God does bring good out of evil ; and He may have used such instruments as Henry VIII. and the others to effect His gracious purposes. But it may well be doubted, whether the reformed church of England, in its origin, is not too much identified with such persons, and with the objects which they had in view, to admit of their being considered as mere external instruments ; and whether we may not much more justly apply the test of our Lord, " Can an evil tree bring forth good fruit ?" Can such wickedness as was perpetrated by Henry and his counsellors, and afterwards by Somerset and Elizabeth, have issued in the higher purity and holiness of the Church ?

In reply to such observations as these, it is sometimes said, " We take the English Church as we find

it; all we have to consider is the tenableness of our position *now, as it is*: we altogether ignore the character of the Reformation: we do not feel ourselves called upon either to defend it, or to condemn it; or to pass any judgment upon the method by which it was effected: had we lived at the time, perhaps our sympathies would have been rather with More, and Fisher, and Pole, than with Henry VIII. Cranmer, Elizabeth, and Parker; but that is nothing to us *now*; we take things as we find them, and if we can make out that the church of England is more catholic than the character of the Reformation would lead us to expect, there is nothing to hinder our availing ourselves of this advantage."

Now such reasoning might have perhaps some force, if Anglicans found themselves unequivocally catholic, and in an unexceptionable position. If their present actual state were unattended with difficulties, which are, or threaten to be, fatal, then I admit that the claims of their present position might possibly seem to outweigh all consideration of theoretical difficulty, —at least this would be worthy of consideration. But surely if Anglicans are *feeling* present difficulties to be all but insurmountable (as what Anglican is not?) then can they in justice to themselves leave out of their consideration, the circumstances which have contributed to bring them into those difficulties? If they find themselves almost, if not quite, in an unjustifiable position, and their catholicity decidedly called in question, are they not bound to review those events and circumstances which have brought them into it? And if they find that the Reformation in England was brought about chiefly by the self-will of

one wicked man, who promoted it in order to gratify his own lust; and by the agency of others, partly from being his subservient instruments, and partly from having imbibed principles, and holding doctrines, which Anglicans now utterly repudiate; and further, that it was an innovation upon a system which had fostered a saintliness, since unknown to itself; and that it was in direct opposition to the aims of such men as Sir Thomas More, and Fisher, and Tunstall, and Pole, &c.—such considerations may well be used to strengthen the suspicion, or to confirm the conviction, that that Reformation did not come from God.*

Hitherto I have been arguing upon the assumption that the church of England, as one branch of the Church Catholic, is in the position of an appellant against the church of Rome, another branch, and is awaiting the decision of a General Council. But it may be questioned how far the principles and laws of the church of England allow any such appeal. By the acts of convocation, and the statutes of Henry VIII. to which our attention has been so much directed of late, it is plain that, in reference to its judicial functions, the decisions of the local church, whether they be by civil or ecclesiastical authority, are final. The church of England can appeal for

* Any one who wishes to be informed on the true nature of the Reformation, ought to consult the works of Dr. S. R. Maitland, especially his works on the Dark Ages, and on the Reformation.

His love of truth has done much to vindicate the characters of men who have been greatly and most unjustly maligned, and to elucidate the motives of many of the prime movers of the Reformation.

supreme judgments to no authority out of this kingdom ; and it seems probable that by the same laws it is equally cut off from all external appeal in its *legislative* functions. There is no appeal from the decisions of its synods, confirmed by the Queen, any more than there is from the decisions of the Queen in Council, under the guidance of the Judicial Committee.

But even if it were lawful to appeal to a General Council, how is such an appeal practicable ? Suppose convocation or synod assembled for the dispatch of business, and some decision to be taken on the baptismal question, could the minority, by the laws of the English church, lodge an appeal to a General Council ? Would the archbishop have the power or authority to receive such an appeal ? Or if he received it, what could he do with it ? I should rather suppose, that by the laws of this church and realm, the decision of convocation would be *final*. But if so, in what sort of position would it leave the minority ? Under a *duty*, in a matter involving the truth of God, and the everlasting interests of man, to submit to the decisions of a body which does not even claim for itself infallibility ? Surely this can never be. Or again, suppose a council of the western Church were to be assembled now—no impossible supposition — would the bishops of the English church be admitted as members of it ? Certainly not, because the Catholic Church does not admit the English Establishment to be a part of the Church. Nor could the English bishops fairly claim admission, because, as we have seen, by their own twenty-first Article, they would be bound not to pledge

themselves to abide implicitly by the decisions of even a General Council. Is it not then an unreal thing, and indeed scarcely honourable, that the English church should profess to be in the position of an appellant, when an appeal on her own principles is absolutely impracticable?*

But it has been urged by some that we can only expect infallible guidance from even a General Council when the Church is perfectly united. It is only to the decisions of the ONE Church that we are bound to defer. Hence, it is said, we must labour for unity, and then we shall obtain an infallible authority. But is not this manifestly to invert the true

* I have heard it alleged—but as it seems to me on no sufficient authority—that the Article does not speak of true œcumenical Councils, but only such as pretended to be general, as, e.g. the Latrocinian of Ephesus, and those of Ariminum, and Seleucia. But it is obvious to remark, that the Article does not say Councils *called* general, or *presuming* to be so; but without any qualification “General Councils.” Bishop Beveridge knew no such distinction. In his comment on the Article he says, “If (the controversy) spread over the whole body of the universal Church in all or most places, then it was always thought necessary that an universal œcumenical or general Council should put a period to it. *And it is these General Councils which this Article speaks of.*” And he afterwards specifies the true œcumenical Councils—admitting it seems that the second Nicene was a true œcumenical Council and erred—and then distinguishes those which “pretend to be general.”

But even if the distinction were in words sustainable, the wording of the Article would exclude it. For if such a distinction were intended, the saving clause in the latter part of the Article would naturally be, “Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary have neither strength nor authority unless” such councils can be declared to be truly œcumenical, or some other such form. Whereas the Article says, “unless it can be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.”

order of things? Our blessed Lord invested His Church with authority for this, above all other reasons, that it might maintain unity. How is unity to be preserved but by that authority to which men will submit? In the nature of things, authority must precede unity, not unity authority. If otherwise no authority would be needed. To assert then under the existing state of things that authority can only be exercised in a united Church is to make the position of the church of England irretrievable and irremediable.

In connection with this point another consideration presents a great difficulty to the Anglican. Compelled as he is to pronounce Rome wrong, whom can he believe to be right? He must have *some authority* to rest upon; it is an element in the position of the Anglican. He denies private judgment to be the foundation of his faith as earnestly as the Catholic does. If then he looks out of himself for some authority to rest upon, what reason has he to believe that the doctors of Trent were wrong, and the reformers right.* If he says the decisions of one party were more scriptural, more in accordance with the

* If the position of the Church of England be right, (the Anglican must say) the Roman Catholics are so wrong, that it is doubtful whether any terms ought to be kept with them. But if they are so wrong as this, what confidence can we have that any religious body is right? May not the church of England be wrong also? Surely this theory forces us on the foundation of *private judgment*. And if so, what limit is there to this? Is every individual Christian to determine by his private judgment, first what is Scripture, and next, what Scripture means? or even to go a step further back (and on this theory why should he not?) whether there is such a thing as inspiration at all? or any writings of inspired men?

fathers, or with the decisions of the first councils, what is this but to appeal to his private judgment? How can he refuse to another the right of forming the contrary opinion? And of course if this be so, all authoritative foundation for *faith* is at an end. Christians may then believe in the correctness of their own judgment, or in the conclusions of their own reason, but they do not believe in the word of the Living God, AS SUCH.

But it has been said, the church of England differs from other bodies, in that she respects early tradition. She does not take the Bible only for her rule of faith, but Scripture interpreted by early Tradition. And this word "early" is variously interpreted to mean the first six centuries, or the first four general councils, or the whole period before the division of east and west. Yet how uncertain and unsatisfactory this is, must obviously appear. For if the Church of England denies to private judgment the interpretation of Scripture, with what consistency can she admit it in the writings of the fathers, or in the interpretation of Canons or decrees of councils? Or again we might ask, when did the Church's decisions cease to be binding on her children? Is it safe that such a matter as this should be left to private opinion, one to say the third century, another the fourth, and so on? It is true the Church of England founds her reception of the canon of Scripture on tradition, [Art. VI.] and this as regards some books, not the very earliest tradition. But if she receives the canon of Scripture on such authority, why not also the practice of praying for the dead, for which there is an earlier tradition than for some of

the books of Scripture? And why not again for the number or the nature of the Christian sacraments? Why does she venture to omit the practice of "anointing with oil," an early practice, to be traced up to the command of Scripture itself? In thus disregarding some traditions does she not endanger the authority of the rest? Does she not bring into jeopardy the reception of Scripture itself?*

Further it may be asked, On what *principle* can Anglicans repudiate or ignore the witness of the mediæval Church? The same promise which insures to the Church an infallible Guide into all truth insures His *abidance* in the Church *for ever*. Why should the first ages be *certainly* and in all instances the purest ages of the Church? If it be answered, Because it was then least under the influence of human additions or corruptions; it may be asked, How can we be sure of this? Is there no power in the Church to throw off corruptions? If indeed it be said that the Church was corrupted from the very first; that may be a consistent theory, but it is not the theory of the Anglican, who recognises the purity of the first five or six centuries. But if the Anglican acknowledges the first four councils why not the fifth and the sixth? If he fixes this date to the period of

* In speaking of the Bible as a Rule of Faith persons seem to confound the office of a judge, with the office of the law. Let the distinction be applied which is so obvious in temporal matters. We all know, that let the law of the land be as plain as possible, it would be utterly useless unless we had a judge to apply and interpret it. Holy Scripture then is our *law* in spirituals. But it is useless *as to this purpose* without an interpreter. Does not experience teach us that this is so? where is the agreement of men who profess to be guided by it in their doctrines?

the division of East and West, what is this but to *assume* that the *Church* was then divided? (an impossible condition according to our Lord's promise.) Or even on that assumption how can he refuse to be at least provisionally bound by the synods of the western Church, until the voice of the whole Church can be heard? On what conceivable principle, except that of private judgment, can Anglicans hold themselves to be bound by the synod of London at the reformation, which will not equally, at least, bind them to the previous councils of the later western Church?

Thus then it would seem that the church of England has no consistent theory of unity. Her members are driven to the necessity of maintaining principles which carried out to their legitimate conclusions will condemn themselves; or to the alternative of admitting principles which will justify every form of dissent or schism.

2. Nor is the position of the English church more satisfactory when we consider the subject of unity in reference to its internal character. Not only does the system fail in preserving unity amongst the several branches, so called, of the Catholic Church; it equally fails in enforcing or promoting unity amongst its own members. No reflecting person can doubt that it is the influence of the state which chiefly keeps together the discordant materials of the English church. What sympathy, what bond of union can subsist between parties so discordant as the "anglo-catholic," the "evangelical," and the "latitudinarian?" It would be invidious to mention names, but they will occur to every one as illustrative

of this question. If in one parish is taught the orthodox doctrines of the Blessed Trinity, and of the Incarnation; in another may be found the teaching of Sabellius or Nestorius. In one, the efficacy of the sacraments; in another the denial that they are more than mere signs. In one, Luther's doctrine of justification by faith only, in another Bishop Bull's of justification by faith and works also. In one the Pope is admitted to be the first bishop in the Christian Church: in another he is denounced as Antichrist. In one, Roman Catholics are regarded as Christian brethren, with some errors it may be, but with much that deserves and obtains imitation; in another they are regarded as idolatrous, in the possibility of whose salvation it is a stretch of charity to believe. Many more points of disunion on vital doctrines might be mentioned. But let these suffice. No reasonable person can maintain that there is any unity of doctrine in members of the church of England. Their own acts refute any such position. In visiting any strange place the earnest "evangelical" asks, "Where the Gospel is preached?" The anglo-catholic fears for himself or for his children that he may hear sacramental grace denied or depreciated, or some subtil form of antinomianism inculcated. Who amongst us, for years past, has gone into any strange Church with a feeling of confidence that the doctrines or practices to be found in it, would not shock his deepest convictions of truth, or his feelings of reverence? Surely this is not Catholic Unity.

In reference to these admitted features of Anglican disunion, it has been alleged that disunion also is found in the Catholic Church. But will the two

cases admit of the slightest comparison? There are of course in the Catholic Church matters of *opinion* in which differences are allowable. But the Anglican differences affect the most sacred doctrines of the Faith. Who can say that he would find any substantial disunion in the Catholic Church from one end of the world to the other, on the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Sacraments,—and herein on Regeneration, the Real Presence, and the Eucharistic Sacrifice—or on Justification, Repentance, Holy Orders, or the constitution of the Church? or that if such differences were in any instance to be discovered the evil would be beyond immediate remedy?

II. The next subject which I will notice as involving an Anglican difficulty is the method in which the Church of England has dealt with the doctrine of SACRAMENTAL GRACE.

As I have just said, very widely different opinions prevail on this subject. But there is one point on which one would think all earnest minded persons must agree, namely, that whatever the church's doctrine on the sacraments is, it ought to be plainly enunciated, so that her humblest member might know what it is. On this point there is at least no difference of opinion amongst sincere persons, whether "high-church" or "evangelical." Both show by their language what their estimation is of the importance of the subject. To deny baptismal regeneration, or the real Presence is in the belief of the Anglican a fatal heresy. To assert these doctrines is in the view of the evangelical to destroy souls. Or even

where such strong language is not used, the difference is admitted to be vital. Now if this be so, it can scarcely be otherwise than that the Anglican should feel it a difficulty, that what he believes to be the true doctrine of the sacraments, is put forth by the Church in such feeble or even equivocal terms.

On the doctrine of baptismal regeneration the church of England has been hitherto thought to be more especially strong. The explicit language of her formularies seemed to many to be absolutely decisive on that point. And yet we have lived to see it solemnly decided otherwise in a court constituted of men of the highest legal ability. I know it has been widely said that that decision was manifestly, if not intentionally wrong; that it was a judgment not founded on truth, but upon expediency. With such statements I can feel no sympathy. While I freely admit, that according to the best of my judgment, the fair construction of the words of the Prayer Book would have led to an opposite decision, I cannot deny that there were other elements introduced into the question, which may fairly account for, if they do not justify, the decision. The argument so often referred to, founded on the adoption of an article of at least equivocal meaning for one plain and unambiguous; the absence of a distinctive announcement on the efficacy of infant baptism, where at least it might have been expected in the answer to the question, "Why then are infants baptised, &c.?" ; above all, the unvarying practice of the church of England for three hundred years (or at least for by far the largest portion of that period) in allowing clergymen to have the cure of souls, who notoriously and

avowedly denied the doctrine of baptismal regeneration — these considerations, though not decisive as to the question (as such they are not here urged) are yet amply sufficient to vindicate the court from that most serious and degrading charge of having given a judgment knowingly and intentionally perverse.

The last of the above named considerations ought surely to weigh much with the Anglican who would zealously vindicate the position of the church of England. For how could he answer such a retort as this from the judges? “ You charge us with having perverted or misinterpreted documents which so plainly lay down the doctrine of baptismal regeneration that no honest mind can possibly misunderstand them; you also maintain that this is a vital doctrine: how comes it to pass then, that you and the bishops, and the whole church for three hundred years, have endured within her bosom the deadly heresy of denying it? Can we suppose that the church of England for three hundred years has not had one bishop faithful enough to banish this strange doctrine from his diocese;—with documents too in his hand (as you assert) so plain and explicit, that they admit of no doubt of his ability successfully to have taken this course?” Surely this would be a retort not easily answered.

I will not here dwell on the point that the orthodoxy of the English church has at least been brought into question upon this fundamental doctrine by the recent decision in the Gorham case, whether just or unjust, because this has been of late so much insisted upon. And indeed it seems to be very generally admitted, that if the decision stands, it is such a recog-

nition of false doctrine as is fatal to the claims of the church of England to be a part of the Church Catholic. But I proceed to consider what kind of witness the English church bears to the grace and efficacy of the sacrament of the holy Eucharist.

Now I may assume that the Anglican believes, substantially, the following doctrine ;

1. That the very Body and Blood of our Lord are in no merely figurative sense, but really and substantially present, not merely to the heart and soul of the believer, but “ under the form of bread and wine ” upon the altar.

2. That in this sacrament, the priest really offers in commemoration the true and proper sacrifice of that very Body, Which once for all was offered on the Cross, and that in this sacrament is transacted the perpetuation of that one Sacrifice once offered, which is propitiatory for the sins of the whole world.

This I suppose is also, in substance, the belief of the Catholic, and however others may doubt of, or deny the truth of this doctrine, no one can question its immense and overwhelming importance, if true. And yet how very unsatisfactory is the witness which the English Prayer Book bears to it. Some passages indeed seem explicitly to recognise the real presence. Yet perhaps with one exception (namely the passage in the exhortation which is almost in words a quotation from Scripture) the Prayer Book seems to adopt the notion favoured by Hooker, that the real presence is not in the species of bread and wine, but only to the heart and soul of the believer ; which seems equivalent to saying that the faith of the receiver, not the act of the priest, consecrates the elements. Hence

in the words of the Catechism, the inward part of the Sacrament is said to be, “The Body and Blood of Christ which are verily and indeed taken and received *by the faithful* in the Lord’s Supper ;” and again in the twenty-eighth article it is said, “The mean whereby the Body of Christ,” (not merely the benefit) “is received and eaten is faith.”*

Still more unsatisfactory must we consider the history of the words used at the distribution. The old Catholic form, continued till the second Prayer Book of Edward VI., was “The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ keep thy soul to everlasting life ;” in which words nothing less could be understood than that that which was delivered was the Body of our Lord. In the second Prayer Book of Edward VI., these words were *omitted* and there was substituted for them this form only ; “Take eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.” Now if the true doctrine of the real presence had been intended to be asserted by the later divines of the English church, what would have been more natural and obvious than that when on a subsequent review the Prayer Book was relieved from some of the innovations of the foreign reformers, the ancient form should have been restored to its exclusive place ; and that these words so obviously sug-

* It is obvious to remark that one single expression inconsistent with the holding of high doctrine in the real presence and the Eucharistic sacrifice, will tell more on one side, than many expressions favourable to high doctrine will tell on the other. For these latter expressions are quite consistent with the supposition that the real presence was intended to be an open question. Whereas it is utterly inconceivable that if the compilers of the Prayer Book, held and intended to enforce that doctrine, they should have allowed one expression of a hostile import to be inserted.

gestive of a lower doctrine of the Sacrament should have been omitted? This observation is all the stronger from the manifest inconvenience of the longer form, adding so unnecessarily to the length of the service. Yet what was done? The old form of words was indeed restored, but the later form was also retained *in addition*, suggesting; whether intentionally or not, an uncatholic interpretation of the old form. For it must be observed that while the old form was exclusively in use, the act of distribution was simultaneous with the utterance of the words "The Body of our Lord &c." naturally expressing the truth that the thing given was the very Body. But as the words now stand in the English liturgy, the distribution can scarcely be made, and I suppose usually is not made until, the words "Take and eat this *in remembrance* &c." so that the more natural interpretation of the sentence as it now stands is that the first words are a prayer, which any one might use without any belief in the real presence, "may the Body of our Lord preserve thy body &c." while the latter words suggest that the Sacrament is only taken in *remembrance* of a past act, and that the *eating* is no more than a figurative action of the heart or intention.

One cannot but suppose then from this history that a sort of compromise was designed, that the doctrine of the real presence was intended to be left an "open question;" that while no violence was to be done to the prejudices of those who adhere to the old doctrine, no repudiation was intended of the new.*

* This is as much as avowed by Burnet in the following passage:
 "It was proposed to have the Communion-book so contrived

But if even the doctrine of the real presence has been left in this unsatisfactory state, much worse is the position of the English church in reference to the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice. For on this the English Prayer Book is all but *silent*, if indeed it does not intend positively to exclude it. The thirty-first article perhaps may *admit* of the interpretation which Anglicans put upon it, namely that it only condemns "the sacrifices of masses" offered under the notion, whether truly or erroneously imputed, that they could be substituted for the one sacrifice of the Cross, or be independent of it. And if the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice were elsewhere explicitly recognized and fully stated, one would gladly put this harmless meaning on the article. But when we con-

that it might not exclude the belief of the corporal presence: for the chief design of the Queen's (Elizabeth's) council, was to unite the nation in one faith, and the greatest part of the nation continued to believe such a presence. Therefore it was recommended to the divines to see that there should be no express definition made against it; that so it might lie as a speculative opinion, not determined, in which every man was left to the freedom of his own mind. Hereupon the rubric that explained the reason for kneeling at the sacrament, *that thereby no adoration is intended to any corporeal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood, because that is only in heaven*, which had been in king Edward's [second] Liturgy was now left out. And whereas at the delivery of the elements in king Edward's first Liturgy, there was to be said: *The Body or Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, preserve thy body or soul to everlasting life*, which words had been left out in his second Liturgy, as favouring the corporal presence too much; and instead of them these words were ordered to be used, *Take eat this in remembrance &c.* they now joined both these in one." *Burnet's Hist. of Reform.* Vol. ii. p. 784.

Can anything be plainer than that a compromise was intended, and that it was *meant* to leave this vital doctrine an open question?

sider that there is no such recognition or statement ; that *possibly* the words in the first part of the consecration prayer may be *intended* to exclude it ; that *if* there be any oblation of the Body of our Lord it is (contrary to all Catholic usage) placed after communion instead of before it ; and that the language which by Anglicans is understood to express such oblation “ this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,” is so obviously capable of another and a lower meaning,—considering all this, I say, it is hard to believe that the thirty-first article was not intended to condemn the *idea of sacrifice* as in any true and proper sense connected with the Holy Eucharist.

But even were it otherwise, how can we reconcile it to any consideration of the requirements of the Church, that a doctrine so essential, so overwhelmingly important, should be left to be gathered by difficult interpretations, and remote inferences from the Prayer Book ? if the doctrine be true, it is surely the GREAT IDEA which must pervade all Christian worship. It comprehends within itself the grand purpose of our assembling together. We come together, as the first disciples “ to break bread,” and in breaking it to offer this sacrifice. How great is the difficulty to the Anglican, that he should have so slight an authority, if authority at all, for that which he considers to be the very centre of Christian faith and worship.

And here two thoughts suggest themselves which seem not a little to aggravate this difficulty.

1. The first is that the church of England so rarely offers this sacrifice ; in a large number of country churches only three or four times a year, and in

the greater number of town churches only once a month. This is altogether contrary to the usage of the Catholic Church. It is a serious and solemn question, Does not this infrequency of offering arise from the church of England having lost the doctrine of the Sacrifice? And is not this suspicion confirmed by the fact that the celebration is made dependent upon the *number communicating*? Nay, so strict is she in enforcing this rule that even in the case of a dying man, he is not allowed to receive—that is, no celebration is allowed, “if there *be a lack of company to receive with him.*” [See rubric for communion of the sick.] In that case the priest *may not* offer the eucharistic sacrifice although it be applicatory of the sacrifice of the Cross for the poor man’s sins. Even in that “extremity” the clergyman is *forbidden* to minister to him the Body of his Lord, and is to content himself with an “*instruction* that if the sick man “truly repent &c., he doth eat and drink the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul’s health, although he do not receive the sacrament with his mouth.” In a case of *necessity*, where the sacrament *cannot be had*, the Catholic Church has recognised the benefit of spiritual communion. But though the above direction may be consistent enough with the notion that the sacraments are mere figures, does it not seem truly *shocking*, on the assumption that the Eucharist is a true sacrifice, and a real communion? In that view, which Anglicans hold, can it be a sufficient reason for depriving the dying man of such an unspeakable benefit, that “three or two at the least” cannot be found to receive with him?

Perhaps it may be answered here, that we are not

called upon to defend, in minute detail, the rubrical directions of the Prayer Book. These may be erroneous without making the church heretical. But I beg the reader to observe for what purpose this rubric is appealed to: not for its intrinsic wrongness, which must be apparent enough to every Catholic minded person, but as indicating the doctrinal mind of those who compiled and re-formed the offices, and therefore the mind of the Prayer Book itself. It seems impossible that those who composed this rubric could believe in the reality either of sacrifice or communion.

2. The other thought to which I referred is, that the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice, is certainly not actually and practically the doctrine of the great majority of English churchmen. If it can be made out that it is sanctioned or allowed in the Prayer Book, it is unquestionably held by comparatively few who use the Prayer Book. The so called anglo-catholics stand alone here. They receive no countenance from the clergy of the old school. No person competently acquainted with the state of the English Church can doubt, that a vast and overwhelming majority of its bishops, priests, and deacons ignore or reject this doctrine.* It is quite different with the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. It may be as-

* Thus the bishop of London, a fair expositor of English church doctrine, says *ex cathedra*:

“ This notion of an offering, which those who communicate in the Eucharist make in behalf of others, over and above their prayers, seems to me, I confess, to be essentially the same as that which is condemned by our thirty-first article. I consider it to be the plain doctrine of our Church that the effects of that holy Sacrament are limited to the faithful and devout communicant, and that there is

sumed that the majority of the clergy hold that doctrine *in terms*, greatly as they would differ in their exposition of the terms. And in the recent controversy much has been made of this wide spread belief of the bishops and other clergy. The fact has been even adduced as practically nullifying the decision of the Queen in Privy Council. It has been said, that the doctrine of the Church is not to be determined by such a decision ; the whole Church (though to say so is an exaggeration) is against it ; there cannot be a doubt that if the church could speak it would decide in favour of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. But if this argument is good for the maintenance of one doctrine, is it not equally good for the rejection of another ? Suppose one of the bishops were to refuse institution to a clergyman for not holding the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice — is it conceivable that he could maintain his ground ; or that he would be supported if he were to appeal to a

nothing in it of the nature of a truly propitiatory sacrifice." *Charge* 1846, p. 17.

The same opinion, in substance, is expressed by the bishop in his recent answer to an address from the archdeaconry of Middlesex. "I cannot but suspect that many of the forms which have been of late introduced into the celebration of the holy communion are the expressions of belief in a doctrine emphatically denied by the Church of England, and are nothing less than acts of adoration done to the supposed corporeal presence of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ." Setting aside the misunderstanding which might arise from the use of the word "corporeal," I will venture to say that the suspicions of the bishop are well-founded. In the case of many high-churchmen, I would hope in the case of all, these ceremonies have been observed in recognition of the Real Presence of Christ upon the altar. To have adopted them for any other reason would have been both foolish and wicked.

synod of bishops, or to the general belief of the clergy? Most assuredly not. And if not, must we not say by the same rule, that the church of England rejects the doctrine.

III.

And this brings me to the consideration of another point in the general difficulties of Anglicans, I mean THE ACTUAL STATE OF THE EXISTING ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

It has been truly said by archdeacon Manning in his recent letter to the bishop of Chichester, (p. 36.) that “the doctrine of the church of England is not only in its written formularies, but in the oral teaching of its twenty-eight bishops, its fifteen thousand clergy, its many more thousand school teachers, and its two or three millions of heads of families. Doctrine is the living, ever spreading, and perpetual sense which is taught at our altars, and from house to house all the year round.” This is a consideration which very much affects the question before us. If indeed the church of England were what the anglo-catholic would have it to be — if, for instance, as a living body it taught the mysteries of the Faith—the efficacy of sacramental grace—the real presence, the eucharistic Sacrifice, with its corollaries, &c. &c. he would be in a very different position. But can this be said to be so? Does the church of England *teach* thus by her authorised ministry? The real character of the church must be decided, not by what human ingenuity may make the Prayer Book say or allow; not by such disquisitions as are found in Tract 90,

whatever may or may not be the tenableness of its positions; but by what it really is, and really says, through the great body of its accredited ministers. And this remark is the stronger when it applies not to times of careless ignorance, such as the latter part of the 18th century; but to times such as these in which we live, in which every doctrine of the faith is canvassed, and when for twenty years Catholic truths have been thrust upon the church, and practically rejected by her. I say rejected by her, because although it is true that some of her members have become more or less catholic, they are obviously *in* her rather than *of* her. The catholic tone and spirit have not infused themselves into her system. So far as the church of England can be said to have expressed any feeling on Catholicism, it has been adverse to it. The instances may be few and insignificant in which there has been any expression at all; but such as it has been, it has been against, not for, Catholicism;—as, for instance, in bishops' charges; in the favour shewn to the so called evangelical school; in approximations to foreign protestants, as in the Jerusalem bishopric; and in the discouragement with which any attempt to return to more correct and catholic usage has been met. So far then as the actual state of the Church can be adduced as interpretative of the sense of the Prayer Book—it witnesses *against* the catholic sense.

And here I cannot but observe, that it tells much against the church of England that zeal and devotedness to God are practically discouraged, rather than fostered by her system. Here too her system practically has been a sort of *via media*. She seems to

study a respectable mediocrity. It has often been remarked, and most truly, that Wesley was driven into his extravagancies, and his followers out of the Establishment by the want of sympathy in his aspirations and aims after higher and holier ways. We may all remember how daily services in churches were discouraged a few years ago; and even yet, those who have restored this usage are regarded with coldness and suspicion. Again, the establishment of religious brotherhoods, and sisterhoods of mercy, has more recently been attempted under circumstances still more discouraging. In a word, it will not be denied, whatever partial exceptions may exist, that, *on the whole*, by the authorities of the church specially, and by its whole body generally, the greatest discouragements have been and are thrown in the way of any extraordinary zeal. It is thought a great matter to get the *sanction* of a bishop to any good work which seems to rise above the level of ordinary religious practice of the day. I do not presume to blame the bishops—the blame seems to rest rather upon the system they are in, than upon them: but while I would gladly bear witness to great activity manifested in recent years, in such good works as church building, district visiting, &c. I believe it would be difficult to name a single instance in which for the last hundred years or more, a bishop of the English church, has originated and systematically encouraged any plan for raising the tone of feeling and action amongst the more religious portion of the community. The most that is looked for from them is forbearance, or cold assent; as if the very office of a bishop was instituted only to restrain

zeal, and to guard against too great enthusiasm. It seems no sufficient answer to say that in recent times this zeal has had a tendency towards practices which are more specially identified with the Catholic Church: first because in previous times no such reason could be alleged; and secondly and chiefly because such a reason is in fact an implicit testimony to the excellence of the Catholic system; and because when occasion seems to call for it, the distinction is much insisted upon by Anglicans, that they do not protest against the *Church* of Rome, but only against its errors.

Further it is obvious to remark that the church of England seems to throw off from her, as alien to her, those of her clergy who shew any extraordinary zeal and devotedness to their work. One clergyman gives himself wholly to his work: he devotes his substance, his time, his abilities, to the one object of caring for his parish: he builds churches and schools—devises plans for a more Christian mode of education. But because with all this he combines an unusual, and it may be exaggerated attention to the ritual of the church, he is in fact practically cast aside. All his personal devotedness and the excellence of his works go for nothing, when weighed against this little fault, if fault it be, and he is got rid of. Another clergyman performs his ordinary routine of duty, but makes not one effort to raise the religious tone of his parish. Yet he is cherished and encouraged, and probably acquires that highest title of Anglican excellence—the title of “*a safe man.*” Nay, let the full truth be told, even immoral men—men *convicted* of immorality—find a more lenient treatment than do

men of excessive and extravagant zeal. Here again I would not be understood as imputing blame to individual bishops ; but rather as shewing the real tendency of the system to which they belong, which seems to encourage, or to force upon them this unequal exercise of discipline.

IV.

I pass on now to the consideration of another difficulty which recent events have brought more prominently into view. I mean the interference of the CIVIL POWER IN MATTERS OF A PURELY SPIRITUAL NATURE.

If there be one thing more than another upon which the Anglican has laid great stress, it has been the spiritual independence of his church. And surely with great justice, for it is this which establishes the direct connection of the Church with her Divine Head. Her truth, her sacraments, her ministers, and all her mysteries, are endowments directly from Him. And to allow another power, the state, to interpose itself between her and Him, is both an act of unfaithfulness to Him, and of forfeiture of her own position.

The notion which has generally prevailed amongst Anglicans on the subject of the supremacy, I suppose to be this ; that previous to the reformation, a jurisdiction so far as affected the Church, both in temporal matters and spiritual, had been yielded to the Pope, (this of course would include mixed questions partly temporal and partly spiritual) ; and that at the

time of the reformation all that related to temporal matters, whether purely so, or of a mixed character, was placed under the supremacy of the crown; and that all which related to matters purely spiritual, or in mixed questions, so far as they were spiritual, was reserved to the Church, for judgment in its courts, or for legislation in its houses of convocation. Anglicans may perhaps be justly blamed for having formed this opinion, which certainly does not seem to be borne out by the history of the Reformation,* or by the actual state of ecclesiastical law: but thus much may be urged in their excuse, while perhaps it carries with it an imputation on the body to which they belong, that the authorities of the church,

* Certainly Hooker's description of the extent of the supremacy seems plain enough, and so far as his high authority avails, commits the church of England to the full extent of the doctrine which high-churchmen are now reclaiming against. After stating generally that at the Reformation the power of jurisdiction was transferred from the Bishop of Rome, and annexed unto the King's royal seat and crown, he proceeds; "From thence the authors of reformation would translate it into their national assemblies or synods, which synods are the only help which they think lawful to use against such evils in the Church, as particular jurisdictions are not sufficient to redress. In which case our laws have provided that the King's supereminent authority and power shall serve: as namely, when the whole ecclesiastical state, or the principal persons therein, do need visitation and reformation; when in any part of the Church errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, enormities, are grown, which men in their several jurisdictions either do not or cannot help: *whatsoever any spiritual authority or power* (such as legates from the See of Rome did sometimes exercise), *hath done or might hereafter have done*, for the remedy of those evils in lawful sort *as much in every degree* our laws have granted that *the king for ever may do, not only by setting ecclesiastical synods on work, that the thing may be their*

so far as they have been allowed to act at all, have acted in such subserviency to the state,* that their respective powers have not until recently been brought into rivalry or collision with each other. In fact, the question has not been mooted—and it is only to say, that Anglicans have English minds, to allege that they have not been alive to the evil of a principle, which however insidiously and fatally it has worked, has not been openly and palpably brought under public notice. They have rather attributed the Erastianism of their church to the disposition of individual bishops, than seen that it arises from the constitution of the church itself.

But now at length the Anglican is placed in a very different position. A bishop has attempted to assert the rights of his church, as represented by him in his own diocese. The whole question of the relationship between church and state has been brought pointedly and vividly before the mind ; and it appears plain, even to demonstration, that the notion hitherto entertained by Anglicans, is incorrect, and indeed unfounded : and that the whole spiritual

act and the king their motion to it" [the very defence now set up for what is thought a lawful exercise of the supremacy] "but by commissioners few or many, who having the king's letters patent, may in the virtue thereof execute the premises as agents in the right, not of their own peculiar and ordinary, but of his supereminent power." Vol. iii. p. 543. Edit. Keble.

Plainer words could not be used in claiming for the Crown a supreme jurisdiction in matters most purely spiritual.

* The acts for suppression of bishoprics, for changing the jurisdiction of existing bishops, for appointing Ecclesiastical Commissions, above all, for constituting the Jerusalem, the Continental, and the Colonial bishoprics, may be mentioned as instances.

supremacy over the church, enjoyed by the Pope before the Reformation, as distinguished from what belongs to holy *orders*, has been transferred to the Crown, and is now exercised by it, or rather by the state of which the Crown is the executive.

And here especial attention is required to the distinction between the power of orders, and the power of jurisdiction, which has not been sufficiently considered. With regard to the power of orders the Reformation professed to make no difference. The right of ministering in the congregation was still reserved exclusively to the ordained ministers of the Church: the Crown did not interfere with that. But with regard to the power of jurisdiction, which consists in giving mission to the clergy, (except so far as it is included in orders); and in judging of the doctrine and discipline of the Church; it seems that at the Reformation the Crown was invested with this whole jurisdiction. Henceforth the Crown instituted the bishops to their sees, and became the supreme ecclesiastical judge in matters both of doctrine and discipline.

Here again it is important to distinguish between the mere *nomination* of bishops by the Crown, the fitness of whom is to be tried by the Church—and the *actual institution* of bishops to their dioceses. In the mixed relationships of church and state, something may be said in favour of the right of the Crown to *nominate* persons to bishoprics; and no one will maintain that this is any *fatal* intrusion into the Church's prerogatives. But the right to *institute* bishops, which is the giving them mission and jurisdiction; and the right to judge of their fitness for their office

—these are unquestionably the exclusive prerogatives of the Church, and yet these are what the Crown of England now claims and exercises in the Establishment. That such is the law of the land, acquiesced in by the church, is sufficiently obvious by the recent case of Dr. Hampden. Even had the archbishop in that case refused to obey the command of the Crown to confirm Dr. Hampden, it was by the law competent for the Crown to issue a commission to any other bishops to perform this office, and so far to supersede the authority of the archbishop. So absolutely and entirely is the appointment of bishops in the Crown, that as Her Majesty's Attorney General maintained on that occasion, the Queen might, if she pleased, appoint "*a convicted felon*" to a bishopric, and there would be no legal means of redress on the part of the Church.

That the Crown is the supreme ecclesiastical judge in matters purely spiritual is sufficiently shown in the recent case of Mr. Gorham.

Now that these powers were conferred upon the Crown at the Reformation, with the consent of the church, and were intended to be so conferred, I think no one will doubt who gives himself the trouble to enquire. For,

1. The statutes of Henry VIII. revived by Queen Elizabeth, do plainly and unequivocally confer these powers. When the case of Mr. Gorham was in the law courts, these statutes were made the ground of his proceedings against the bishop. And in all the three courts there was a unanimous judgment in his favour.

2. The thirty-sixth canon seems explicitly to

claim this supremacy for the Crown. "The King's Majesty under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other his highness's dominions and countries, as well *in all spiritual* or ecclesiastical *things*, or causes, as temporal." *

3. The whole history of the Church, from the Reformation, shows that these powers were then conferred on the Crown. No instance has occurred in which the Church (not merely individuals in it) by its executive, or otherwise, has claimed the right to judge of the appointment of the Crown to bishoprics, or to be the final judge in matters of its own doctrine and discipline.

4. These powers have been frequently claimed by the Crown, and never reclaimed again on the part of the English Church. Thus to mention a few instances ;

At the opening of the first parliament of Elizabeth, 1559, the Queen says that she had called the two houses together to consult among other things "re-

* Edward the Sixth granted a dispensation to archbishop Cranmer and others to eat flesh meat during Lent, as the following document will shew :

Cran. Reg. Feb. 8, 1550.

"Licentiam dedimus et concessimus Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Thomæ Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, necnon toti ejus familiæ ac omnibus ad eundem Thomam accedentibus—deinceps durante vitæ naturali ipsius Thomæ, temporibus Quadragesimalibus et aliis diebus jejunalibus quibuscumque, carnibus et lacticiniis vesci liberè et impunè valeant et possint, aliquo statuto, actu, proclamatione, constitutionibus aut ordinationibus quibuscumque—non obstantibus."

Cran. Reg. 10 Sep. 1551.

Similar licence for Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, and his wife, to eat meat on fast days with "sex convivis" at table.

specting an uniform order of religion ;” but at the same time asserted her right if she had so pleased, “ to effect them of her own authority.”*

The same Queen issued her commission to four bishops to confirm archbishop Parker ; and when a doubt arose of the competency of his consecrators, the defects, whatever they might be, were pretended to be supplied by act of parliament.

By some it has been alleged that our sovereigns claim no other supremacy than has been claimed by Christian sovereigns since Constantine. Against this, place the uncontradicted testimony (so far as appears) of Lord Montague † in 1563, who in speaking in the House of Lords against a bill to enforce the oath of supremacy says, “ Now that the right of the Queen to ecclesiastical supremacy must appear to many men doubtful, was evident from this, that though enforced by law in England, *it was contradicted by the practice and opinion of every nation whether reformed or unreformed in Christendom.*”

When archbishop Grindal favoured the puritans more than pleased the Queen, “ she suspended him from the exercise of his authority ; a threat of deprivation was added : and more than two years elapsed before he was restored, at his humble petition, and after a sincere acknowledgment of his offence. He could not however recover her favour ; in a short time he received a royal order to resign his see ; and if he was spared the mortification, it was only by his death.” ‡

* Ling. vi. 3. 17.

† Ibid. vi. 3. 85.

‡ Ibid. vi. 326. Cf. Strype's Grindal, pp. 231, 272, 277, 286.

Charles I. acting under the influence of Laud, suspended archbishop Abbot, and again restored him.

In the reign of Charles II. A. D. 1675, in high-church times, on occasion of a bill being brought into parliament, to impose a certain oath against attempting to alter the government of church and state, the bishops were asked, "From whom they professed to derive their powers. They replied that the priesthood, and the powers of the priesthood came to them from Christ; *the licence to exercise those powers* [i. e. jurisdiction] from the civil magistrate. 'But,' exclaimed Lord Wharton, 'excommunication is one of those powers, do you derive from the sovereign the licence to excommunicate the sovereign?' This it was answered was to suppose an extreme case which had never arrived, and probably never would arrive."*

That the Crown or the State still claims and exercises the same substantial supremacy over the Establishment, is manifest from many recent acts. For instance, the state by its own authority, and without any formal assent of the church, has constituted and reconstituted bishoprics, divided dioceses, taking from one and adding to another; has sent forth a bishop to the continent, and another to the east, investing its nominees with power to confirm, and ordain, &c. as the case may be.

I have said the Crown or the State exercises this supremacy, for ecclesiastically viewed the objection is the same in either case. Mr. Gladstone, in his recent able pamphlet on the subject, if I understand

* Lingard, ix. 269.

him aright, seems to think that it takes off part of the objection to the present anomalous state, that the Queen can only act *constitutionally*; that the Queen is only the head of the church, as she is head of the state. So he seems to think that she could not constitutionally have decided the recent case otherwise than as advised by her privy council. It is natural for one who views the question rather as a statesman than as a divine, to take this ground; and supposing the ground maintainable, it may be thus proved that the English Church cannot be tyrannized over by an individual sovereign. But this does not in any respect meet the difficulty (it rather admits it), that the *temporal power*, whether in the Crown or in the State, has intruded itself into the spiritual. It is true that though the temporal law is administered in the name of the Queen, and under her jurisdiction, she has no *individual* authority to acquit or condemn. This might be equally true of the spiritual law, (though it seems to be otherwise); yet this would not relieve men's consciences, which are compelled to reclaim against the spiritual jurisdiction of the Crown, or of the State, in whatever way exercised.*

Hitherto, however, Anglicans have not felt this difficulty. They have understood the interference of the civil power to be confined to such points as had reference to civil matters, such as have been described; that inasmuch as bishops have great temporal power, the king might exercise an influence over their appointment, so long as the person appointed was ap-

* See Note at end.

proved of by the church. And, again, as the sentence of spiritual courts involved civil privileges—the king might place himself at the head of those courts, so far as to see that justice was done to his subjects. Supreme head or governor of the church might be an objectionable title ; but as it seemed to be a mere title, or as the power implied in it seemed to lie dormant, no one, I suppose, felt the ascription of this title to the king to lie very heavy on his conscience. But recent events have placed these things under a very different aspect. The civil headship of the church has been proved to be no empty title, but a monstrous reality ; and the power expressed in it has come into vigorous life and activity. The civil power has successfully claimed and appropriated to itself two of the most sacred prerogatives of the church ;—the absolute appointment of her bishops, superseding all trial of their qualification or fitness on her part ; and the right to decide upon her doctrine ; so as on a matter purely spiritual to overrule and set aside the decisions of her own courts.

I will not enter into any lengthened observations on this subject, which has been so fully treated of late : but I must point out one feature in the case which more especially bears on my present subject, namely, THAT THE REFORMATION INVESTED THE CIVIL AUTHORITY WITH THIS PERILOUS POWER. Whether as Mr. Gladstone thinks the reformers did not foresee the consequences of their own acts, or as others think, they were personally more culpable, is a matter of comparatively little moment. The fact remains the same, that the statutes which cut off all appeals to Rome, conferred these extraordinary powers

on the Crown. And hence, the only remedy for this invasion of the church's rights is by a partial repeal of those laws on which the Reformation in England is founded. No mere restoration of powers of convocation (which perhaps it is not hopeless for Anglicans to expect) will deliver the establishment from its position. No new arrangement of a court of appeal, however unexceptionable, will suffice unless it goes the length of repealing in part the statutes of Henry VIII.†

Now let me ask any reasonable man whether there is the most distant possibility, except by miracle, that such a measure should be obtained? Repeal the statutes of Henry VIII! why, as recent events sufficiently show, the serious proposal to touch those statutes would set the nation in a ferment. The whole protestant feeling of the country would rebel against it. What is it but to ask the reformation to undo itself?

If anything were needed in order to show how truly *protestant* the established Church is, it may

† The bishop of London's bill, did not proceed to this length, and therefore it left the matter, *as to principle*, just where it was before. It appears by the report of the debate on the bill, that Lord Campbell objected to it, on the ground that it would interfere with the queen's prerogative, that is, the prerogative of deciding upon the Church's doctrine—because it would make the decision of the whole bench of bishops *on a matter of doctrine* binding on the Queen. The bishop of London is reported to have met the objection, not by contending that the judgment of the bishops on such a matter *ought* to be binding upon her Majesty; but that in fact the bill was not designed to bind her; but only to bind the Judicial Committee in the advice it should give to her Majesty. As no objection was made to this explanation, it must be assumed that the other bishops assented to it.

be found in the recent proceedings of its clergy and laity, in reference to the change which has been introduced in the Catholic hierarchy in this country. And this more especially when we contrast the spirit with which those proceedings have been carried on, with the all but apathy and indifference with which the assaults on the sacraments and on the spiritual independence of the English Church was received. When the sacrament of baptism was openly impugned in the highest court for ecclesiastical suits in the land, the excitement which followed, though considerable *in one party*, was yet partial and confined. The result only tended to show how really weak the high-church party is. So again when the dependence of the church upon the state in matters most purely spiritual was shown, (and this even under the aggravated form, in which the highest court of appeal is constituted, not even requiring its members to be in communion with the Church), it scarcely produced any strong feeling. Although the circumstances of the recent case made it notorious that even socinians, deists, or atheists, might by the law of the land sit in judgment on most sacred doctrines, and that the church of England would be bound to accept their decision, still only a very partial excitement was produced. The very moderate statement put forth by archdeacon Manning and others, obtained I believe not quite 2000 signatures, out of 16,000 or 17,000 clergy ; and the laity seem to have been generally indifferent on the subject.

Such is the method in which the assault on the catholic aspect of the church of England has been received. But no sooner is the protestant aspect of

it touched, than the English church is at once in a flame, and declares in the most unmistakable way against the imputation of Catholicism. Anglicans have all along maintained that the church of England is catholic, and would declare herself to be so if she could; that it has been rather by accident than design that she is ranked amongst the protestant sects. How could we have a more direct and practical refutation of this theory than the last few months have afforded?

But, to make impossibilities even more impossible, consider with what view would it be proposed to repeal those statutes. Would it be with the view of making the Establishment more liberal? of bringing it into greater harmony with the spirit of the age? No; but with the express intention of making it more exclusive; and this at the instance of a party, now shown to be comparatively small, wishing to obtain the enactment of canons, which might have the effect of excluding a school of religionists existing within her bosom from the time of the Reformation. Surely to expect this is absolutely preposterous. Some persons would make the case of the church of England analogous to that of the dissenters in obtaining the repeal of the test and corporation acts, or to that of the Roman Catholics in obtaining the emancipation Bill. But the cases are not merely different from this, but, politically viewed, the exact opposite to it. Their causes involved the progress of what are called liberal principles; and hence they were successful. The present cause of the church of England involves a move in the opposite direction. Its success would be to deprive many persons, *on account of their faith*

or opinions, of advantages or privileges which they now enjoy. With the temper of the times, and the constitution of the House of Commons, before us, can we imagine any thing more impossible than the accomplishment of such an object ?

As the alternative to this, has been mentioned the separation of Church and State. But the attainment of this remedy is scarcely less improbable than the last : for in the first place, it is quite certain that a very large number of those who are dissatisfied with the present state of things would not join in advocating such a remedy. The dissenters, it has been said, would help. Would then high-churchmen accept of such assistance ? would they combine with the restless spirits of the age in effecting such a revolution ? I cannot think it, and I hope not. But suppose the separation were accomplished, is it not *certain* that the church of England would break up into several distinct bodies, of which the Anglican party would not be the largest ? And even then, what would be the course pursued ? already there is a cry for a *new constitution* for the government of the church, into which a lay element is to be introduced. A new constitution for the Church in the nineteenth century would prove a somewhat prolific source of new divisions.

But it has been said, may we not even expect that the times themselves will change, that the unsoundness of many so-called liberal opinions will be made manifest, and that at length "justice to the church" will be obtained ? and in hope of this does it not become us to wait with patience for those more favourable times ?

Now although I cannot think this very probable, there might be some force in the appeal, if in the mean while the position of Anglicans were an honest position. If the struggle were merely for what is desirable and expedient, any amount of delay in attaining the object would be justifiable. But if the struggle is for an object which is requisite to make the Anglican position "*lawful and right*," then delay is unjustifiable, for we may not do evil that good may come. Now it would seem that the present position of the high-church clergy (and that of the laity must be at least eventually involved in it) is absolutely unlawful. Every Anglican clergyman at his ordination, bound himself "to minister the doctrine, and sacraments, and discipline of Christ, as this church and realm hath received the same." And it appears, by the recent interpretation of the statutes, that at the Reformation, the decision on the church's doctrine was resigned to the civil power. By the recent decision of this authority it has been determined, that according "as this Church and Realm hath received" "the doctrine of Christ," the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is an "open question." If then, as is assumed, the Anglican believes that by the law of Christ, the Church alone is the judge of its own doctrines, and that baptismal regeneration is the exclusive doctrine of the true Church; how can he, as an honest man, continue to minister in the church of England? Is not such a course in direct contravention of his most solemn engagement at ordination?

I have heard it alleged, indeed, that this solemn pledge at ordination only binds those who take it to

what *both* church and realm have received, and that they have received nothing since the year 1661. But I ask does not the pledge which binds us to the reception of a law, bind us to the legal interpretation of it also? Both church and realm received the laws of Henry VIII. which conferred spiritual jurisdiction on the Crown. And if these laws be now interpreted to empower the Queen to pronounce one whom the Church Catholic regards as holding heresy, nevertheless fit to be instituted to the cure of souls; if the bishop or archbishop recognises this interpretation by instituting the clerk to the cure of souls, and by enjoining his parishioners to attend upon his ministry—is not this both theoretically and practically a reception of this interpretation on the part of the church? And can it then be urged that a solemn pledge to administer the doctrine of Christ according to this law, does not bind to a full recognition of the law with its interpretation?

In connection with this subject of jurisdiction another difficulty must be felt by at least a large section of the Anglican party; I mean in reference to the power of spiritual jurisdiction *in foro interno*. It is now tolerably well known that the practice of auricular confession is extensively practised amongst Anglicans. In other words, the English clergyman professes to administer the sacrament of penance; and many receive special sacramental absolution from his lips without doubting its validity. But unquestionably the apparent want of jurisdiction in the clergyman so administering, throws, at least, great doubt over the validity of the absolution, even supposing that there were no question as to the validity of his

orders. It is indeed a fearful thing to thrust oneself unauthorised into the tribunal of penance. Fearful on both sides—both for him who thus undertakes the office, and for those who rely upon its exercise.

Now the only authority which an English clergyman can plead for the exercise of this office is derived from the words in the exhortation in the Communion Office, where after warning his parishioners to examine themselves previous to holy communion, he proceeds, “because it is requisite that no man should come to the holy communion, but with a full trust in God’s mercy, and with a quiet conscience; therefore if there be any of you, who, by this means cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me or to some other discreet and learned minister of God’s word and open his grief, that by the ministry of God’s holy word he may receive the benefit of absolution, &c. But in the first place it is to be observed that this passage *only contemplates* the case of one who cannot quiet his conscience previous to holy communion. It does not seem to give the clergyman authority to administer *generally* the sacrament of penance. And next, if it could be pleaded as conferring jurisdiction for this purpose, upon a clergyman over his own parishioners, which is doubtful, it could not give him the needful jurisdiction over others, not his parishioners. As to the words “some other, &c.” they only seem to apply to those who had lawfully received jurisdiction, or authority to exercise the office of a confessor.* Here again we must carefully

* See this matter extensively treated in Mr. Maskell’s Letter to Dr. Pusey.

note the distinction between orders and jurisdiction. The order of the priesthood confers power to absolve, but this power cannot be *validly* exercised where no jurisdiction is given.

V. PASSAGES IN THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

For some time I have had misgivings about some passages in the thirty-nine Articles. But my misgivings have been suspended rather than laid asleep by such considerations as these; that the Articles were intended to be articles of comprehension; that they have in fact been subscribed by Catholic-minded men; and that *on the whole* they *admit* of a Catholic sense as much as of a Protestant sense.

I now feel, on further consideration, the untenableness of these reasons, chiefly on grounds which recent events have led me to examine; First, that it is an impiety to allow of comprehension *on such subjects* as some of those on which the Articles treat. It is in fact to make "open questions" of distinct dogmas of the Church. And next that *some* of the Articles do not admit of a Catholic sense. And further that it is no real reason for subscribing *them*, to say that there are others which equally condemn a protestant subscription. This may be a good argument *ad hominem*, but not *ad conscientiam*.

I will notice the passages in the order in which they occur in the Articles.

1. And first, the definition of the Canon of Scripture in Article VI. presents some difficulty. "In the name of the holy Scripture we do understand

those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, *of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.*" It would seem that this definition is adopted in order to supersede the necessity of appealing directly to *the authority* of the Church for the decision of this important point. But not to mention the clumsiness of this effort, language is adopted to which it is very difficult indeed to subscribe in its literal sense. For it is notorious that some of the Books which we admit into the Canon, for example, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Apocalypse, the 2nd Epistle of St. Peter, and the Epistle of St. James, were the subject of much doubt in the early Church.

The way in which the Author of Tract 90 endeavours to get over this difficulty is far from satisfactory. He admits the above mentioned fact, (who indeed can deny it?) but says that although such doubts were felt in different parts or portions of the Church, they were never doubted of *by the whole Church at once*, "that is, at the very first time the Catholic or whole Church had the opportunity of forming a judgment on the subject it pronounced in favour of the Canonical Books," and he concludes by saying "The phrase must mean this, because from the nature of the case it can mean nothing else." The plain answer to this is, that then the Article does not mean what it says, for it would have been quite as easy to have expressed this less obvious meaning, if it had really been intended to express it.

Mr. Perceval, in a tract published about that time was naturally dissatisfied with this explanation; but offers one which appears to me equally objectionable. He maintains that the books of which a doubt has

been entertained, are to be excluded from this category. That the article only pronounces upon those books of which there has been literally no doubt,—that the article does not pronounce the Epistle to the Hebrews, for instance, to be canonical, though of course it does not pronounce the contrary. This interpretation seems to me equally far-fetched with the last. Surely the article means to give such a definition as will include *all* the canonical books: this is sufficiently indicated by its last words; “All the books of the New Testament as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them canonical.” It remains then to be explained how this article can be subscribed in “its literal and grammatical sense.”

2. Articles XI. XII. XIII. certainly seem to favour the Lutheran doctrine, which asserts a putative righteousness, and excludes even *Christian* works from the office of justifying. It is indeed startling to find asserted as a dogma of the church, the very identical words which Scripture mentions only in order to condemn, namely, “that we are justified by faith only.” But assuming that the words *admit* of an orthodox interpretation, can it fairly be maintained that these articles were not constructed with a reference to the Lutheran heterodoxy; and were not expressly designed, not perhaps to *enforce* it on the church as its exclusive doctrine; but at least to allow it; in fact, to make the doctrine of justification an *open question*? This view of the matter seems rather confirmed than contradicted by the fact which is sometimes urged in defence of these articles, that on comparing them with the Lutheran Confession, it appears that the Lutheran doctrine is here less dogmatically asserted.

This circumstance might indeed be fairly urged against those who should maintain that the articles *bind* to the Lutheran sense; but it is quite compatible with the hypothesis that these articles were drawn up with the view of *comprehension*, and were expressly intended *not* to exclude from the office of teaching those who rigidly adhere to the Lutheran doctrine.

The practical question then for Anglicans to decide is, whether they are content to have such a doctrine left open? May they by subscribing these articles *make themselves parties* to the teaching of a doctrine which they believe to be fatally false? Is it a sufficient reason in the sight of God to say, The articles *admit* a good sense, in which sense we sign them? It is hard to suppose that such a course can be satisfactory to any honest mind.*

3. Very much the same line of argument may be pursued in reference to Art. XIX. *Of the visible Church*. No one of course can deny the truth of

* Dr. Pusey in his recent speech at the Church Union is reported to have adduced the doctrine of Justification as one upon which the Churches of Rome and England are agreed. Yet there is no little difficulty in reconciling the XI. Article, with the XI. Canon of the VI. Session of the Council of Trent, which declares, "If any one saith that men are justified either by the sole imputation of the justice of Christ, or by the sole remission of sins, to the exclusion of the grace of the charity which is poured forth in their hearts by the Holy Ghost and is inherent in them; or even that the grace whereby we are justified is only the favour of God; let him be anathema."

The English Article must be understood to exclude "inherent grace" altogether from the office of justifying. None can deny that it seems to favour that view. Most persons will admit that the difference is vital.

this definition, *so far as it extends*. The Visible Church is all that the article asserts—"A congregation of faithful men (*cætus fidelium*) in which the pure word of God is preached, &c." But is not the article purposely so constructed as *to leave open* the question whether bodies which have not the succession, or which are otherwise defective in the essentials of the constitution of the Church, are yet a part of the Church; whether, for instance, we may not include Lutherans, Calvinists, and dissenters of all kinds under this definition. Here again then I would ask, Can Anglicans be content *to be parties* to leaving such a question open? Is this a *lawful* definition of the Church Catholic, in face of the schisms and heresies which prevail outside of her? In subscribing such an article, are not men doing very much the same as those did, who, in the face of the Arian heresy, would content themselves with subscription to the Apostles' Creed?

The conclusion of this Article states, "As the Church of *Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch* have erred, so also the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith."

Now assuming that *in some sense* these latter words are true, and that the Church of Rome has so erred, is it true that she has thus erred *in the sense most obviously suggested by the Article*? Why are these other churches referred to but as supplying fair objects of comparison? Is it not *intended to imply* that the Church of Rome has erred in something of the same way with those Churches? Now how have those Churches erred? Every one of them has been

presided over by a bishop who in one way or other has impugned the doctrine of the INCARNATION. Every one in one way or other has denied that the Son of God has come in the flesh. “*So also*,” says the Article, “the Church of Rome hath erred.” Does this mean only a resemblance in fact, that is, in the simple fact that all have erred? (Even this would need to be proved.) But does it not *suggest* or *insinuate* more? Is it fair and honourable thus to put in the same category a Church which all admit has from the beginning until this day upheld the true doctrine of the Incarnate Word, and those heretical churches which have notoriously denied Him? Will Anglicans be satisfied to be parties in such an act?*

* The following passage is earnestly recommended to the consideration of those who really believe the Christian Creeds, and can appreciate the fatal character of error in the fundamentals of the Faith.

“Nor was the developement of dogmatic theology which was then (after the conversion of Constantine) taking place, a silent and spontaneous process. It was wrought out and carried through the fiercest controversies, and amid the most fearful risks. The Catholic Faith was placed in a succession of perils, and rocked to and fro like a vessel at sea. Large portions of Christendom were, one after another, in heresy or in schism; and leading churches, and the most authoritative schools fell from time to time into serious error; three Popes, Liberius, Vigilius, Honorius, have left to posterity the burden of their defence: but these disorders were no interruption to the sustained and steady march of the sacred science from implicit belief to formal statement. The series of ecclesiastical decisions, in which its progress was ever and anon signified, alternate between the one and the other side of the theological dogma especially in question as if fashioning it into shape by opposite strokes. The controversy began in Apollinaris, who confused or denied the two natures in Christ, and was condemned by Pope Damasus. A reaction followed, and Theodore of Mopsuestia ventured

4. Article XXI. asserts that "General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes." This is a very broad assertion. The first Council of Jerusalem was gathered without any such commandment, and it is obvious to perceive that circumstances might arise when the same course must be taken. Some have endeavoured to get over the difficulty by supposing the Article to assert a mere *truism*, namely, that under the existing state of Christendom, it is impossible that a Council can be gathered together in any other

to teach the doctrine of two persons. After Nestorius had brought that heresy into public view, and had incurred in consequence the anathema of the third Ecumenical Council, the current of controversy again shifted its direction; for Eutyches appeared, maintained the One Nature, and was condemned at Chalcedon. Something however, was still wanting to the overthrow of the Nestorian doctrine of Two Persons, and the Fifth Council was formally directed against the writings of Theodore, and his party. Then followed the Monothelite heresy, which was a revival of the Eutychian or Monophysite, and was condemned in the Sixth. Lastly, Nestorianism once more showed itself in the Adoptionists of Spain, and gave occasion to the great Council of Frankfort. Any one false step would have thrown the whole theory of the doctrine into irretrievable confusion; but it was as if some one individual and perspicacious intellect, to speak humanly, ruled the theological discussion from first to last. That in the long course of centuries, and in spite of the failure, in points of detail, of the most gifted fathers and saints, the Church thus wrought out the one and only consistent theory which can be taken on the great doctrine in dispute, proves how clear, simple, and exact her vision of that doctrine was. Is it not utterly incredible, that with this thorough comprehension of so great a mystery, as far as the human mind can know it, she should be at that very time in the commission of the grossest errors in religious worship, and should be hiding the God and Mediator, whose Incarnation she contemplated with so clear an intellect, behind a crowd of idols?"—NEWMAN'S *Essay on Development*, pp. 448-9.

way. Surely this needs no answer. It only shows to what shifts men are driven when they try to put aside the plain meaning of words ; in this case all the plainer, because it was notoriously the intention of the civil power to restrain the liberty of the Church.

But the Article proceeds to say that General Councils “ may err, and sometimes have erred in things pertaining to God.” If this be so, how and where is the promise of our Lord fulfilled, that He would “ guide His Apostles into all truth ?” The only attempt to reconcile the Article with the promise, that I am aware of, is that suggested by the author of Tract No. 90, who says, “ that bodies of men deficient in this respect [that is, liable to err] may err, is a self-evident truth,” [then why put it in the Article ?] “ *unless* indeed they be favoured with some divine superintendence. . . . General Councils then may err (*as such*—may err) *unless* in any case it is promised, as a matter of express supernatural privilege, that they shall *not* err. . . . Such a promise however *does* exist, in cases when General Councils are not only gathered together according to “ the commandment and will of princes,” but *in the Name of CHRIST*, according to our Lord’s promise.” p. 21. Thus it is supposed that the Article means, that General Councils *not* gathered together in the Name of Christ may err, while *it is silent* respecting the authority of General Councils which *are* gathered together in His Name. But who ever heard of a General Council not professedly gathered together in the Name of Christ ? Or if such a thing ever existed, who would think of attributing infallibility to it ? And is it not really preposterous to suppose that the

Article should intend to define this non-existent thing under a name notoriously applicable to assemblies, to which, upon this hypothesis, the Article does not so much as allude? Surely this is an impossible interpretation; and if so, it only remains that the Article is intended in the broadest terms to deny the infallibility of the Church. *All* General Councils, however assembled, however Catholic, however truly representing the Church at large, may err. And hence, consistently enough, the following words in the Article throw us upon the foundation of private judgment, “*Wherefore* things ordained by them (General Councils) as necessary to salvation, have neither strength, *nor authority*, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of holy Scripture.” Is this the doctrine which Anglicans are prepared to abide by?

5. Article XXII. condemns the Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, images, relics, and invocation of saints.

We cannot have forgotten the outcry which was raised a few years ago against “the non-natural sense” which was put upon this article by the author of Tract 90. He chiefly insisted upon the fact that it is the *Romish*, and not the primitive doctrine upon these subjects, which is here condemned. How far the word *Romish* will sanction such an interpretation each one must decide for himself. At least I will not again open that controversy. But even assuming that it may satisfy a conscientious subscription, it may be asked, If there is a *primitive* doctrine of purgatory and relics, and invocation of saints, as that writer maintains, and as Anglicans generally believe,

is it a satisfactory course of proceeding thus to condemn the error, without one word of recognition of the truth to which it is opposed? Are men really dealing with THE TRUTHS OF GOD, and are they satisfied to subscribe a condemnation of errors in terms which in the minds of most men include those truths, without one word of qualification or restriction? This seems to me scarcely consistent with any sense of our responsibility for maintaining religious truth. Surely if we believe the *primitive* doctrine on any of these subjects, faithfulness requires that we should avow it, when we are condemning errors which have arisen out of it. What should we think of persons who, condemning the Arian or Eutychian heresies should refrain from declaring their belief that Christ is both God and Man?

6. The XXV. Article denies five holy rites "commonly called Sacraments," to be sacraments of the Gospel, namely, "Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, being such," it continues, "as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly from states of life allowed in Scripture."

This part of the Article certainly involves the Anglican in no little difficulty.

i. It seems to disparage confirmation, *at least under the aspect of a Sacrament*, as a corrupt following of the Apostles, for it can scarcely be brought under the other category as a "state of life *allowed* in Scripture." And yet I suppose Anglicans in general do regard confirmation as possessing all the elements of a sacrament, and only falling short of the definition in the Catechism from its outward sign not being

certainly “ordained by Christ Himself.” And even in reference to this point, most persons will admit the great probability of its having been ordained by Christ during those forty days after His resurrection in which He spake “of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God.” One might ask then, Is this a justifiable way of speaking of a holy rite coming to us commended as this does?

ii. Next, it is tolerably notorious that Anglicans very extensively observe the Sacrament of Penance. I say “the Sacrament,” because I believe there is no difference whatever in the mode of administration between Anglicans, and Roman Catholics. It consists in auricular confession, the imposition, if need be, of penance, and the conveyance of special priestly absolution. I am sure I shall but speak the sentiments of those concerned, when I say that very great blessing has followed the revival of this practice in the Establishment. But can men be content then to speak of this blessing as they do in this Article? to call it a corrupt following of the Apostles? and this too while they go on administering or receiving it? Surely this is not straight-forward.

iii. “Extreme Unction” is in like manner disparaged; and yet it is difficult to see how the Anglican church on her own professed principles can neglect the administration of Unction after some method. For it is unquestionably a primitive ordinance possessing Scriptural authority. *James* v. 14, 15. It seems wholly unjustifiable to condemn an ordinance, thus recommended, *without one word of qualification* in the whole Prayer-Book to explain how the command of Scripture may be obeyed.

7. Article XXVIII. in terms condemns the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

“Transubstantiation, or the change of the substance of Bread and Wine, in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.”

“What is here opposed as Transubstantiation,” says a learned writer, “is the shocking doctrine that ‘the body of Christ’ as the Article goes on to express it, is *not* given, taken, and eaten after an heavenly and spiritual manner, but is carnally pressed with the teeth.” [Tract No. 90, p. 47.] And I suppose Anglicans generally reconcile their subscription to this Article by adopting substantially this interpretation of it. Hence the moderation of the Church of England has sometimes been commended for not venturing to define in such a mystery—affirming the Real Presence, but abstaining from any assertion as to the method in which so great a mystery is accomplished. But if we look more narrowly at the language of the Article we shall see that such reasoning is far from satisfactory. For although it be true that the Church of England has no where *positively* affirmed how the Real Presence is accomplished, she has in this Article *negatively* asserted that it cannot be by “Transubstantiation, or the change of the substance of bread and wine.” Now I cannot but believe that there are many Anglicans who sign this Article, and yet would not venture to say that such a change cannot be; or that it would, if true, overthrow the nature of a sacrament. They would ra-

ther say, ‘The accidents of Bread and Wine certainly remain (which no Catholic denies) and it is probable that the article only contemplated some popular error, which denied, or was thought to deny this;’ but believing as I do that in this great mystery, Christ is really and substantially present, I am far from being so presumptuous as to assert that this mystery *cannot* or *may not* be effected by Transubstantiation as defined by the article; I am content neither to assert nor to deny this mode of accounting for the mystery; but to leave it in that indefiniteness, in which, as I think, it is left by Holy Scripture.’ This I say is probably the language which many Anglicans substantially adopt. The question is, Is it reconcileable with the plain words of the article? They do not leave the question *open*. They positively deny that there can be any “change of the substance of Bread and Wine.” Are Anglicans prepared to deny this in so positive a manner? *

Here it may seem proper to notice the explanation

* I am indebted to a friend for the substance of the following remark.

It may be suggested that, setting aside the question of the authority of the Church, to which all are bound to submit, Transubstantiation properly defined is the most *reasonable* expression of the doctrine of the Real Presence. The substance of a thing, as distinguished from its accidents, is the thing itself (*Res Ipsa*) considered apart from the sensible properties by which its nature is *manifest*. The substance therefore of a thing is incapable of becoming an object to the senses; otherwise it would be capable of being manifested, which is contrary to the definition of it. The accidents are but a sign.

For example, when a piece of bread is eaten by us, it undergoes a twofold change. Its physical and sensible properties *disappear*, and are succeeded by the *accidents* of flesh and blood. But the

appended to the Communion Office, as to kneeling at the time of reception. In one point of view it is of more weight, and more imperatively calls for a clear exposition than any passages in the articles. For the articles are constructed more especially for the clergy; and for them, learned and recondite arguments to shew their consistency with Catholic truth may be more allowable. But here is a passage professedly *ad populum*; designed as an instruction for the common people. It professes to give an account of the reason why they receive Holy Communion *kneeling*. And first, it is important to observe *the omission* of any reason to be derived from the fact that our Lord is really and truly present in this Holy Sacrament. Surely if it were the doctrine of the Church of England, the plain recognition of that doctrine might be expected here. For assuming that the passage is directed against an abuse; what could be more needful than that it should guard against an opposite abuse, especially in the face of the errors of the Sacramentarians, who reduced the

substance of the bread is still present, and is *changed* into the substance of our bodies. The *transformation* and the *transubstantiation* are here synchronous. But is there any necessity that they should be so in all cases? So far as we know, have not all substances a capacity for conversion, without change of form, as they also have for change of form without change of substance?

It may be said that all this is too subtle to form an article of faith. But then would not the same modesty restrain us from pronouncing against it? Besides, is it more subtle than the definition of three Persons in one God? Transubstantiation is no attempt to *expluin* the mode of the Real Presence. It does no more than proclaim the *fact*, in terms borrowed from analogous facts: like "*generation*" and "*consubstantial*" to express the Eternal Sonship of the Uncreated Word.

Sacraments to mere signs, which error notoriously prevailed at the time. This remark is more important from the consideration that the "explanation" was restored at the last review under the Caroline divines. For although it be true, as has been often observed in extenuation, that the "explanation" was then rendered less objectionable by the omission of a denial of the Real Presence which it had previously contained; yet this seemed to make it only the more imperative that *a distinct assertion* of the true doctrine of the Real Presence should now be recorded. That no such assertion is to be found seems strikingly to coincide with the conclusion, otherwise come to, that it was intended to be left *an open question*. Members of the Church of England, as they do, may assert the doctrine, or deny it.

But if this were designed, the leaning of the passage is most decidedly to the Protestant or Sacramentarian side of the question. It is indeed so worded as *possibly* to assert no untruth. Thus, all Catholics would agree that "no adoration ought to be done unto the sacramental bread and wine," nor, (if we may understand *corporal or natural* to mean *carnal*) "unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood." And again, if we may understand *substances* to mean *accidents*, "the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances:" and "the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven and not here," if we understand this assertion in reference to change of locality, apart from all consideration of mystery.

The exceptions and allowances, however, are here

very considerable, and without disputing such very acute and subtle arguments as have been adduced by Anglicans in vindication of the passage, I would ask what other conclusion plain, unlearned men of ordinary common sense (for whom be it remembered it was written) could draw from the language, except that it is intended to deny that there is any Real Presence of Christ, to be adored, under the form of bread and wine. Are Anglicans prepared to subscribe to this conclusion? If not, is it honest to express their assent to the passage?

8. The next Article, XXIX. strongly confirms the view which has just been taken of the preceding one, for it explicitly asserts that “the wicked” are “in no wise partakers of Christ” in this sacrament. All of course will admit that they are not thereby partakers *of the benefits* of Christ’s salvation. But the wording of the article seems intended totally to contradict the notion of any real objective presence of Christ upon the altar, under the species of bread and wine; and is reasonably consistent with that lower notion of the Sacrament, already referred to, which makes the presence to be in the heart and soul of the believer. And it is to be carefully observed that these words “in no wise are partakers of Christ” are not to be found in the passage of St. Augustin from which the rest of the article is quoted.

9. Article XXXI. has been already noticed in the observations upon the eucharistic sacrifice. I will only add here that it is hard indeed to believe, in the absence of all other evidence in the Prayer Book to the contrary, that this Article does “not speak against the mass in itself, nor against its being

an offering, though commemorative, for the quick and the dead, for the remission of sin." Tract 90, p. 63.

An additional and independent argument to show that the church of England rejects the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist, may be derived from the form of oath which the archbishop of Canterbury administers to the Sovereign of these realms in the office of the coronation. Indeed, until recent times, every bishop was required to take this oath when he entered parliament; and for a long series of years every bishop of the English church did actually take it.

"I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous."

Now the arguments so ingeniously urged by the author of Tract 90, will not avail here. It is not "the sacrifices of masses," but the sacrifice of the Mass, or of the holy Eucharist (for they are convertible terms) which is here expressly repudiated. And this agrees with the other facts of the case, namely, with the careful exclusion from the liturgy of all words expressive of a real sacrifice, and with the wording of the thirty-first Article.

It will scarcely be urged that the Church of England is not implicated in an oath or declaration, for

a long time actually taken by its bishops, and still administered by its archbishop to the Sovereign on the most solemn occasion.

10. Article XXXV. asserts that “the Homilies contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times.” Certainly this is a very general assertion, and considering the bulk of the book, and the subjects on which it treats, can scarcely fail to be true according to the letter. The book contains what it is asserted to contain, whatever else it may contain. But though this article is true in the letter, I cannot but think that an Anglican, under other circumstances, would hesitate before he would, without any qualification, say so much of a book, which besides much other objectionable matter, calls the chief bishop of the Church, antichrist; which puts forth Lutheran doctrine sometimes in a very prominent and offensive way; and declares that for eight hundred years the Church was sunk in the sin of idolatry.

11. Article XXXVIII. treats on the subject of the royal supremacy, and spiritual jurisdiction. Something has been already said on these points, and they have been so much the subject of observation in other quarters, that little here need be added. I will only observe, that after the best consideration which I have been able to give to this matter, it appears to me, that this article, taken in connection with Canons and Acts of parliament, is intended to recognise a spiritual supremacy in the temporal sovereign. The very exception which the article makes, with regard to the reservation of the power and functions of orders, seems to imply that as to the rest, includ-

ing all spiritual jurisdiction, it belongs to the temporal power. The example adduced of "godly princes in Holy Scripture," seems to confirm this, for it confuses the principles of Jewish polity, with those of the Christian Church. Solomon consecrated the temple, and deposed Abiathar from the priesthood. In the kingdom of Israel spiritual and temporal laws and government were intermingled and combined. The Christian Church is a kingdom of itself, capable, it may be, of being *united* with temporal kingdoms, but distinct from and independent of them.

I have thus reviewed several of the thirty-nine Articles, which certainly present a considerable difficulty to Anglicans; some greater and some less, but altogether an amount which is sufficiently great to call for most serious reflection. But here it will probably be asked of me, If you feel this difficulty so decidedly, how is it that you have so long gone on ministering under a subscription to these Articles? Is this quite a new light that has broken in upon you, or how are we to reconcile your past practice with your present convictions? To these questions I would offer the following observations rather in the way of explanation than of defence.

1. I suppose that under the circumstances in which along with so many others, I have been placed, it is in the nature of things that such convictions should come upon the mind gradually. First, they take the form of mere suspicions, and are perhaps put away as sinful to be indulged. Then, when more urgent, they are for a time resisted as interfering with present duties; and it is only by slow degrees that they get full possession of the mind.

2. Next, I would say that the Articles have seemed to stand upon their own proper ground, *not* as articles of faith, which are practical, and to be made daily use of ; but rather, as marking off a prohibited ground ; that they are chiefly negative, and protestant, and no otherwise binding than as keeping the clergy from a certain line of teaching, marked out as forbidden. Under such circumstances, it may have seemed lawful to put the consideration of them aside, more or less, so long as a certainty could be felt, that the boundaries which they prescribed were not transgressed ; as for instance, a clergyman might fairly feel that he was not called upon to consider the Article on purgatory, while he said nothing at all upon the subject, nor had, in fact, any definite belief upon it.

So likewise while teaching the Real Presence, and abstaining from all comment on the *mode* in which the great mystery is accomplished, he might not feel imperatively called upon to consider the subject of Transubstantiation ; or rather might assume that the Article only protested against an erroneous aspect of the doctrine.

3. An Anglican might fairly feel that *on the whole* the Prayer Book is on his side ; that is, in reference to the existing parties of the day. He might feel that so far as it has any definite principles, he was acting up to them more nearly than the “ Evangelical.” For the difficulties presented by the Articles would seem far less practical, and far less momentous, than those which the Offices of Baptism, and Confirmation, and Ordination, and the Visitation of the sick, &c. present to the “ Evangelical.”

4. Above all, a person who has lived in *submission to the Church*, as such, will be slow to discover and admit even to himself a discordance between what he receives as its authoritative teaching, and his own private opinion.

I offer these observations, as I have said, in explanation, not as a defence or excuse for my own conduct. For I now see, what I ought to have seen sooner, that as the church of England makes its appeal to private judgment, I ought to have been more ready to use it. And, again, that a body situated as it is, in reference to the Church Catholic, is necessarily upon its trial, and has need to justify its position; and this, by God's blessing, might have led me to an earlier perception of those defects and contradictions which have been noticed. Under the pressure of recent events, these considerations seem to be forced upon Anglicans, and to lay them under still heavier responsibilities. Assuredly these are times in which such questions cannot be put wholly aside without sin.

And now, in conclusion, I would add some considerations of a more general nature, which certainly seem to draw the eyes of English churchmen towards Rome.

The recent revival of a more religious spirit in the church of England, to which the Oxford movement of 1833 gave such an impulse, has often been appealed to as a proof of life in the church, and of God's blessing resting upon it. Such an appeal is of course very plausible, and the more effective from the comfort which it seems to bring with it. But if we look at the matter more closely, perhaps we shall

be driven to a somewhat different conclusion. Unquestionably the revival itself has been very extensive, but, as is most manifest from recent events, connected with the so called "Papal aggression," its influence upon the Established church has been very slight;* whereas I think its tendency towards Rome has been very decisive and very extensive. Look at the church of England as it was fifty years ago, or even thirty. At that time it would have been thought Popish to speak of the Real Presence;† the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice was scarcely known in the teaching of the church. Auricular confession, counsels of perfection, the conventual life, as well as less important matters, such as the use of the crucifix &c. were all identified with Popery. But now these doctrines and usages are quite current amongst Anglicans. May we not appeal to the common sense of men to say whether these things are not a decisive approximation to Rome? Nay more, are not Anglicans indebted to Rome for them? Supposing for one moment that the communion of Rome were blotted out of existence, does any one believe that the church of England of itself would have found its way back to these doctrines and usages? And then, if it be admitted, as it must be, that they enter vitally into the truth of our holy religion, and have a most decisive influence upon religious practice, must it not also be admitted that the revival of these things amongst An-

* See No. II. of Newman's Lectures.

† The highest doctrine then held in the church of England was probably a Real Presence in the heart of the believer, and not on the Altar.

glicans is *so far* a witness in favour of Rome? she had retained much that was lost, or at least suspended, amongst Anglicans.

And here I must notice another feature in the case which ought not to be without its influence upon truthful minds. I mean the comparison between the converts from Catholicism to Protestantism, and those from Protestantism to Catholicism. It would obviously be improper even to hint at examples; nor would I address this appeal to low-churchmen, who from their prepossessions, will be unable to feel its force; but, speaking to Anglicans, I may fairly ask them to institute this comparison, and to say if it is not immeasurably in favour of Catholicism? whether in *their view* the testimony *on the whole* of such men as those who have come over to Rome, does not outweigh to a degree scarcely calculable that which is afforded on the opposite side? To those who feel this to be so, the fact cannot but appear to be very considerable. And further, it is a remarkable fact for the Anglican to consider, that the conversions from Catholicism to Protestantism, have been almost entirely to the evangelical or latitudinarian school; whereas those in the opposite direction have at least been marked by no dereliction of the Catholic Faith.

Nor ought it to be left quite out of sight, that many, may I not say most, of the conversions to the Catholic Church have involved sacrifices of all kinds, so large as at least to give weight to their witness.

I have thus touched upon some of the principal difficulties which seem to press upon the Anglican position. They certainly suggest the very serious inquiry, whether that position is tenable; and again,

whether they do not furnish a sufficient indication, that safety to our souls can only be secured by submission to the Church of Rome. For, in the first place, it has appeared that the acts of the Reformation were in themselves unjustifiable. All will agree that the primary motives which led to the Reformation in England were iniquitous, (for I may assume that Henry VIII. will find no defenders.) The Reformation itself in this country was the intrusion of the temporal power, as such, within the sacred precincts of the church. And, in the next place, we have seen that this first fault has been productive of fruits which at this moment are being reaped by English churchmen, and which involve them in inextricable difficulties.

But it may be said, on the other side, should we gain anything by submission to Rome? Do not at least equal difficulties meet us there? I would say a word or two in answer to this question, which I now consider to be proposed *by Anglicans only*.

Low churchmen have a multitude of difficulties, but my present concern is not with them. Anglicans have but a very few difficulties, and to these I would now briefly address myself, in a very few observations of course suggestive only of the answers which might be given.

1. First and foremost of these stands the repugnance which Anglicans feel to the devotions to the Saints, and more especially those addressed to the blessed Virgin Mary. These devotions seem to them to invade the sole prerogative of God, as the hearer and answerer of prayer. But here it is surely reasonable that we should take the Catholic's own explanation of the meaning of his own words. And

there can be no doubt that the Catholic Church denies utterly that she invades the prerogative of God. We may safely take the explanation of a theologian such as Bellarmine, who thus writes ; “ It is not lawful to ask the saints to grant to us, as if they were the authors of divine benefits, glory, or grace or the other means of blessedness ; this is proved, first from Scripture, ‘ The Lord will give grace and glory.’ Secondly, from the usage of the Church ; for in the mass-prayers, and the saints’ offices, we never ask anything else but that at their prayers benefits may be granted to us by God. Thirdly, from reason ; for what we need surpasses the powers of the creature, and therefore even of saints ; therefore we ought to ask nothing of saints beyond their impetrating from God what is profitable to us. Fourthly, from Augustin and Theodoret, who expressly teach that saints are not to be invoked as gods, but as able to gain from God what they wish. However, it must be observed, when we say that nothing should be asked of saints but their prayers for us, the question is not about the words, but the sense of the words. For as far as words go it is lawful to say, ‘ St. Peter, pity me, save me, open for me the gate of heaven,’ also ‘ Give me health of body, patience, fortitude, &c.’ provided that we mean, save and pity me by praying for me. Grant me this or that by thy prayers and merits. For so speaks Gregory Nazianzen, and many others of the ancients,” which is only one amongst a hundred similar cases. *De Sanct. Beat. i.* 17. quoted Tract 90, p. 42.

Surely every one has a right to explain the meaning of the words which he uses, and nothing can be more

satisfactory *as to the special objection here considered*, than this explanation.*

I may illustrate this point further by referring to the word *merit* here used. It is a word almost discarded from Protestant theology, because it is understood to imply a sort of worthiness which would interfere with the alone worthiness of our Lord Jesus Christ. And yet even Protestants do not object to the doctrine that the piety and prayers, of a Christian congregation, may bring down a blessing on a whole parish. Well, then, this is just what a Catholic would express by saying that the blessing was granted to the merits of the pious people, without meaning (as little as the Protestant) any thing that would interfere with the sole merits of our Lord and Saviour.

But it may be said, such language as is addressed to the saints is very dangerous, and will naturally lead to their being put in the place of our Lord;—persons will be induced to be more devoted to the saints, than to our Lord. To this it might be replied, in the first place, that in such a matter it is presump-

* In reference to such observations as these, it is sometimes replied, ‘ But then in all fairness you ought to allow the Anglican church or her divines, the same liberty to explain her doubtful or ambiguous language: I fully grant this; nay, my complaint is, that neither she, nor her writers with any adequate unanimity, do explain what is doubtful in her language or usages. If, for instance, the real presence, the eucharistic sacrifice and other mysteries of the faith were asserted by church of England divines, with the same unanimity that Roman Catholic Divines repudiate the notion of paying *Divine* honours to the blessed Virgin, then we should have less right to complain of omission, or dubious expressions in the Prayer Book upon those subjects.

tuous to set up our private judgment against that of the Church, and against her constant usage for ages. In such a case can we doubt that the probability at least is greatly on the side of our judgment being wrong? Is the Church itself, or a person outside the Church, the best judge in such a matter?

But further, we may appeal to matters of fact. Our Blessed Lord has given us a rule of judgment. "By their fruits ye shall know them." Now where do we find the warmest and deepest devotions to our Lord, and the deepest sympathy with His sufferings and His life? Certainly in the writings of Catholics. As a proof of this, it may be remarked, that when an Anglican writer set himself upon providing devotions of a deeper tone, and more specially addressed to our Lord, and expressive of sympathy in His sufferings, he was forced out of Anglican into Catholic writings. It is not from English authors, but by translations from Catholic authors, that the aim has been made to feed the minds of Anglicans with higher, richer, deeper devotions—devotions more especially keeping our Lord before the mind. And no person competently instructed can possibly doubt, that the Catholic books of devotion breathe a far deeper and richer tone, especially in reference to our Lord, than do the Anglican. Is not this *fact* then amply sufficient to overwhelm a mere *suspicion*, that veneration of the saints interferes with devotion to our Lord? Is not the objection really analogous to that often urged against Anglicans by low churchmen, and felt to be utterly futile and absurd, namely, that the Church has been put in the place of Christ? The reply to both objections is substantially the same. The blessing of

the Church was set forth to lead to our Lord, not as a substitute for Him; so the saints are honoured as the ladder to Christ. And as a matter of fact, we see that there is greater devotion to our Lord, greater prominence given to His cross and passion, and a fuller apprehension of His great atonement, where this reverence for the saints prevails than in the absence of it.

It may be also a matter for serious consideration whether the marked forgetfulness of communion with the unseen world, which characterises the English church, may not be traced to a practical neglect of the saints. How little do Anglicans understand what is meant by the communion of saints?

Again, disuse of prayers for the dead—a practice for which we have primitive if not a scriptural authority, may, with great probability, be traced to the same cause.

Of course there can be no objection *in principle* to our asking for the intercession of the saints. If we may ask our brethren on earth to pray for us, much more may we ask our brethren in heaven. But then it is often asked, How can we be sure that the saints hear us; or that they can know what is passing upon earth?

Now in answer to this, it may be said, in the first place, that it reduces the difference between the Anglican and the Catholic to very narrow ground; in other words, it is a very trivial objection. Certainly it is impossible to say that they do *not* hear us. And therefore is it not reasonable that in such a matter we should be guided by the authority of the Church? If Scripture were wholly silent, this

would seem but reasonable. But it may be further said that Scripture at least favours the positive side of the question. It is certain that the angels know what is passing among men [Luke xv. Matt. xviii. 10, Dan. and Rev. *passim*], and why then should not those be equally informed, who are “as the angels of God?” Surely in this case scriptural probability at least supports the authority of the Church.

2. Another objection most strongly felt by Anglicans is to the superstitious use of relics and images, &c. And for myself I must confess how very deeply I have sympathised with this objection. But such considerations as these may go far to overcome it. That these are matters of which the very fact of being outside the system render persons in a great measure incompetent to judge. They are matters which address our feelings more than our judgment (I am not here alluding to the charge of *idolatry*, which I will afterwards notice, but to mere superstitious reverence for relics, &c.) and to estimate their due force in this respect, we ought to be within the system. For example, we know that many things in the Anglican system shock the dissenters, and this merely because from their position they are incapable of understanding it. Is it not fair to suppose that there may be in Anglicans the same kind of incompetence to judge the Catholic system?

But a still weightier consideration is that much which is objected to under this head is really an *abuse*, condemned by the authoritative voice of the Catholic Church herself. Thus speaks the Council of Trent, “Into these holy and salutary observances should any abuses creep, of these the Holy Council

vehemently desires the utter extinction, so that no images of a false doctrine, and supplying to the uninstructed opportunity of perilous error should be set up All superstition also in invocation of Saints, veneration of relics, and sacred use of images be put away; all filthy lucre be cast out of doors."—Sess. xxv. So that where such abuses exist it is only fair to set them down, not to the system itself, but to the defective administration of the system: just as Anglicans have been wont, (though now they can no longer do so) to attribute the false doctrine which is so extensively taught in the established church on baptism, not to the church itself, but to its defective discipline or administration.

These superstitions, even where they do exist, are indeed of immeasurably less importance than false teaching on the sacraments. And it may be not unreasonably suggested that they arise from the intense love which many, it may be, rudely instructed Christians in Catholic countries have to our Lord, to the B. Virgin, and the saints. They feel *passionately* about them. It is a feeling which may be illustrated by what we so often see in the devoted worshippers of some great man. They idolize even any relic of him. It may be that some such feeling as this in human nature directed to higher objects, or even the highest, furnishes the best solution of some of those devotions which we read of in Catholic countries, which seem to Anglicans so extravagant and repulsive.

3. But I except entirely from the application of such observations the CHARGE OF IDOLATRY. I fully admit that they are far too insignificant to meet that

charge. It must be tried upon its grounds. I can only say, for myself, as far as I know the charge is totally false.

But I would urge that this crime is of so fearful and damning a character that if Anglicans believe it true, they convict themselves also as partakers of the sin. For with idolatry *no terms may be kept*. If the Catholic Church can be convicted of idolatry, the language of even ultra Protestantism is too weak for its condemnation. Idolatry taints every thing that it touches. "Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's Table and the table of devils." Yet the church of England acknowledges the priesthood of Rome and recognises her orders; and Anglicans, at least, would deal with her as a mother or sister Church.

Again, I confess, when I reflect upon the great saints which have lived in the Catholic Church, and that even since her existing system has been developed, it seems to me a thing most extravagant to charge her with idolatry. What! did SS. Bernard, Charles, Francis, Ignatius, and a hundred more, live in an idolatrous system, and never detect or repudiate the idolatry? Surely the very thought is beyond all reason monstrous, and needs but to be mentioned to be rejected.

It is no answer to this to say, that idolatry, like murder or adultery, may be committed without the formal outward act. Undoubtedly it may. But this is not the kind of sin charged upon Catholics. Covetousness is idolatry, and may infect the heart of Catholics as of others, for all in the Church are not perfect. But if the charge of idolatry is anything to the purpose, it means that Catholics are guilty of it,

in a way and *after a method* in which Protestants are not guilty of it, that is, by their worship of images. It is to this charge that the above remarks are addressed.

4. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception has recently been urged as a difficulty in some quarters. But in the first place it may be said that this as yet, at least, is an opinion, not a dogma, of the Church. And next, it can scarcely be regarded as a *practical* difficulty in the way of the Anglican who probably knows very little upon the subject. I suppose most Anglicans would agree with Catholics that the Blessed Virgin Mary was without *actual sin*. Indeed to those who have realised the doctrine of the Incarnation it seems shocking to think of our Lord's childhood being entrusted to her apart from this condition. The precise mode then in which this sinlessness was obtained for the Blessed Virgin is a matter which may well be left for the decision of the Church, if she should see fit to decide it.

It seems to me surprising that a writer so learned and so accurate as Dr. Mill should regard the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception as an invasion of what he terms "the sole immaculate *maternity*" of the Blessed Virgin. The doctrine, as I suppose, has never been conceived of as interfering with that fact; nor has any one ever imagined that the Blessed Virgin was not begotten, conceived, and born in the ordinary way, though it may be with miraculous adjuncts surpassing the cases of Isaac and of John the Baptist.

Besides these objections I do not know of any considerable ones felt by Anglicans. The receiving of holy communion in one kind is a mere matter of

discipline, which might at any time be altered. As such it certainly has the sanction of very early practice. Besides give the greatest weight to this difficulty, and it surely sinks into nothing, compared with the irreverence which is so frequent in the administration by the English church. In principle, or economically considered, the Anglican can feel no objection, as I suppose it is as much his doctrine as it is that of Rome, that an undivided Christ is received under each species.*

The doctrine of purgatory as defined by the council of Trent can scarcely present an insuperable difficulty, since all that it *necessarily* means, is that departed souls are purified, or advanced in perfection, in the separate state. Now if we believe that those souls are conscious, and have the knowledge of God, and are delivered from the burden of the flesh, it surely is impossible not to believe that they are in a state of progress or advancement. From this we must distinguish the *fire* of purgatory, which is an *opinion* in the Catholic Church, not a dogma of it.

Again, whatever difficulty Anglicans may feel in acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope, it is a

* It has been observed that the receiving only in one kind is a much larger omission than to omit the ministration of "unction." But the cases are different. The Catholic Church, "principally influenced" by the desire "to crush the heresy which denied that Christ whole and entire is contained under either species" [See Catechism of the Council of Trent] enjoined this rule, professedly exercising its power to order in a matter of discipline. The English Church professing to be guided by scripture and antiquity condemns "extreme unction," while it abstains from enjoining any other kind of unction, though the practice can plead both scripture and antiquity in its support.

difficulty which can scarcely be considered so great as that of denying to him even a primacy, which certainly is denied to him in the English church. To say the least, the primacy of the chair of St. Peter is probably of divine right. Therefore even though it were proved to be exaggerated into the present supremacy, would it not be safer to submit to it, than to reject any thing which is of God? But can we say that the supremacy is an unreasonable or improbable developement from the primacy? And assuming it to be lawful must we not admit that it has been most beneficial, as having been the support of sound doctrine in times of peril, and the ostensible means of preserving unity in Christian fellowship over all the world?

Again, it may be asked, if the Anglican feels a difficulty in acknowledging the Supremacy of the Pope, must he not feel a much greater difficulty in admitting the supremacy of the Crown? The former professes to rest upon Scripture, and at least admits of scriptural argument; but what can be said for the latter? It was first asserted in its present sense by a wicked man with the view of gratifying his own lusts.

Finally, if the appeal is to be to private judgment, as has been shewn to be the case in the church of England, I must confess for my own part, that the Catholic system commends itself to me as divine, immeasurably more than its antagonist. It seems to me far more forcible, coherent, and real; far more to have upon it the impress of what is divine; far more fitted to the great object of the Church, to win souls and to train them for heaven. It sustains in far higher perfection the character of a witness for God in the

world. Its works are ostensible. Its light shines before men. It may be read and known of all men. Contrast with this the secrecy, to say the least, of some great features of the church in the Anglican system. Is there in the church of England any decided witness *to the world*, of the real presence, of the eucharistic sacrifice, of the priestly office, of the need of confession and penance, of the power of the keys, of the ascetic and conventual life, and of the counsels of perfection? Possibly these things are more or less *in* the church of England — taught and practised by some of her members. But is there, or has there been for three hundred years, any real practical witness for them to the world at large in the actual working of the English Church?

Again, who that is at all competent to judge can say that the church of England can be compared to the Catholic Church in its practical method of dealing with souls under the disease of sin—of leading them to compunction and administering the healing balm of the gospel? *Individuals* may exist in the English church, who are endowed with skill for these great ends. But in the Catholic Church it is part of *the system*. It exists every where. Again, can we say that the saintly life has been developed in the one in any due measure, or proportion, with the other? And, which is much to the point, wherever that saintly life has been most prominently developed in the English church, it has been in such men as Andrewes and Ken and Wilson — men who in their life and writings have most symbolised with Rome, even while they said harsh things against her.

In a word, to compare the two systems, the promi-

nent features in the church of England, seem to mark it as formed for this present world : decent, respectable, corrective of abuses which offend society, with enough of devotion to relieve the conscience ; but withal cold, unenthusiastic, and dreading fanaticism, far more than worldly mediocrity ; it sustains its self-appropriated title of the *via media*. The Catholic religion on the other hand seems to be formed for heaven : braving the enmity of the world ; bearing her unceasing witness to things supernatural ; more intent on training souls for heaven than on ministering to their comfort on earth : bringing us evermore into union with our divine Lord by her daily sacrifice, giving us thereby an entrance into heaven ; by the prominence of her sacramental system surrounding us with invisible realities ; and while tenderly nourishing the weakest of her children, encouraging, in those who aim to reach it, the saintly life, the highest, the holiest, the most enthusiastic and un-earthly devotion.

The above observations then seem strongly to point one way to the duty of submitting to the Church of Rome : nay, that it is not safe to be out of her communion. For there is but one Church—one ark of salvation. Against such a conclusion however, may fairly be urged the fearful act of taking an irrevocable step. It may be said, that we ought to wait awhile, for stronger conviction, or plainer signs of direction, and that we may safely thus wait, if we do so *in voto*—conscious of a firm resolution to do the will of God at all hazards.

But then on the other hand ought not each one to ask himself, Am I sure that no unworthy motives

mix themselves up in my reasons for not acting as these convictions seem to suggest? Am I sure that at a future time I shall have the moral strength to act upon my convictions? or again, Am I sure that I shall keep my convictions, if well grounded? We all know how dangerous a thing it is to tamper with conscience. I may think myself faithful and honest, and to have a firm determination to do the will of God at any sacrifice; but is it safe thus to rest upon my own conviction of my honesty and faithfulness? Ought I not rather to distrust myself, and fear lest I should be resisting the grace of God? If I have all the elements of forming a right judgment before me; ought I not at once to form it, and to act upon it?

Add to all this that "time is short." Time and opportunity are in God's hand, not in ours; as Scripture says, "Ye know not what shall be ON THE MORROW."

Note A at p. 61.

Having mentioned Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet, I would here notice another statement of his, which seems to me to err on similar ground. After stating the "great concessions" made by the Church of England at the time of the Reformation, he says, p. 38, "The real question I apprehend is this; when the Church assented to those great concessions had she adequate securities that the powers so conveyed would be exercised, upon the whole, with a due regard to the integrity of her faith, and of her office which was, and has ever been, a part of that faith? I ask the one vital question, whether whatever they [the securities] were in form, they were in substance sufficient." And as it seems to me, the whole point and strength of his argument is made to rest upon the answer given to this question.

But I must submit, that there is another more important and more vital question which suggests itself. Were these great concessions *lawful*, whatever might be the securities under which they were made? Does the law of Christ allow, that the Church should transfer to another, that function and office which Her Great Head has committed to her? Until that question be decided, it is in vain to speak of securities; and I cannot but think that if Mr. Gladstone had grappled with it, he would have discovered that the ground upon which he rests the very able argument of his pamphlet is cut from under him.

Again, Mr. Gladstone lays great stress upon the circumstance, that Queen Elizabeth professed to claim no more for the civil power than "the restoration of the ancient rights of the Crown." But in the first place, she claimed all that had been claimed by her father and brother; and this by Mr. Gladstone's own showing, pp. 15, 16, was an amount of jurisdiction fatal to the rights and independence of the Church; and indeed of this there can be no doubt.

But, if I may be forgiven for saying so, is not the very foundation of this allegation very weak and insufficient? It is no new thing for sovereigns to rest their claims to unusual and dangerous power upon grounds most advantageous to themselves, independent of all other considerations. Of course it suited the purpose of the sovereigns of the Reformation, to found their claims of spiritual jurisdiction upon ancient precedents, and undefined prerogative, rather than on statute law. But this does not prove that they intended to limit their claims by what their predecessors had really enjoyed. That question must be decided *by the facts of the case*. If it can be shown, as it has been abundantly shown *as a matter of fact*, that the sovereigns in this country have possessed and exercised a jurisdiction in the church unknown to their predecessors, and that the church has acquiesced in this, it really seems trifling to say, the jurisdiction is not greater, because they claimed no greater. If the King in council were to claim the right of levying taxes, without consent of parliament, and were to proceed to act upon this claim by virtue of a standing army, it would be little comfort that he should issue a proclamation declaring that he claimed to exercise no other prerogative or right than had been enjoyed by his predecessors from the time of the conquest.

The bishop of Exeter, a short time ago, put forth some "Considerations,"* designed to satisfy his clergy that they may lawfully subscribe the Articles on the Supremacy. I would offer a few observations on his Lordship's arguments. First, he says,

1. That these Articles were simply intended to exclude all "*foreign jurisdiction*," "to state *who* is the supreme governor, rather than to define *what* is the nature of the power recognised in that supreme governor." Be it so: still I do not see how this helps the matter. A certain spiritual supremacy was vested in the Pope, before the Reforma-

* See "Guardian" Newspaper, Sept. 25, 1850.

tion: these Articles were intended to exclude him from it; this is admitted by all parties. But the real question is, To whom was this supremacy transferred? The bishop says, in a later part of his "Considerations," to the Church; but he adduces no argument for this conclusion *from the Articles in question*. The first article of the thirty-sixth Canon says explicitly enough, not only that the Pope is excluded from that supremacy, but that the King is invested with it. "The King's Majesty, under God, is the only Supreme Governor . . . in all *spiritual* or ecclesiastical *things*." These words exclude the Church as much as the Pope.

2. The bishop argues that supremacy over the church doctrine is repudiated on the part of the temporal Sovereign, by the words of the thirty-seventh Article, which says, "When we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief government . . . we give not to our princes the *ministering* either of *God's word* or of the sacraments." Upon which the bishop says, "Now the effect of denying to the Crown *the ministering of God's word*, is manifestly to exclude the right and power validly to pronounce what is the force and meaning of God's word in any particular which may be involved in any cause ecclesiastical." The bishop adduces no reason for giving this very unusual interpretation to the words, "the ministering of God's word." I can only say, therefore, that to me they manifestly appear to have a very different meaning; that is, that they exclude the temporal sovereign from the ministering of God's word, in the very same sense in which they exclude her from ministering the sacraments; that is, not from supreme *jurisdiction* in spiritual things, but from the act of serving in them, or dispensing them; in a word—bearing in mind the distinction above noticed—from all that belongs to holy orders.

This view of the matter is confirmed, and indeed made certain by the following passage from Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions.

“And further her Majesty forbiddeth all manner her subjects to give ear or credit to such perverse and malicious persons, which most sinisterly and maliciously labour to notify to her loving subjects how by words of the said oath it may be collected that the kings or queens of this realm, possessors of the Crown, may challenge authority and power of *ministry of divine service in the Church* wherein her said subjects be much abused, &c. &c.”

What can be more plain, than that the prerogative repudiated was that which belongs to orders, the right of ministering in the congregation: and that all else, that is, the whole prerogative of *spiritual jurisdiction* was claimed by the Crown?

The words quoted by the bishop *from another Article*, the Twentieth, which has no reference to the Royal Supremacy, may seem more favourable to his view of the subject. The words are “The Church hath authority in controversies of faith.” But these words which have been already commented upon, so very vague and indefinite, found in another place, and having no reference to the Supremacy, can weigh little against the explicit language of the other Articles. For it is obvious to ask, What authority has the Church? Is it supreme or subordinate? And again, what is meant by “the Church?” The Church Catholic, or the church of England? If the former, then the words do not bear on the question. If the latter, then it is obvious to ask, does it mean *Divine* authority? Then it must be infallible. But this the Church of England does not admit, even in the case of General Councils. I would here ask again, how can a Church have authority in matters of faith without being infallible? authority implies the correlative of duty. But how can it be a person’s *duty* to believe what may be untrue?

But I must venture to say with all respect, that it is very strange to hear this language from the bishop of Exeter. His Lordship’s remarks seem to admit that *if* the article of the Thirty-sixth Canon, and the thirty-seventh Article

of Religion, admitted “the right and power of the Crown validly to pronounce the force and meaning of God’s word, *in any particular which may be involved in any cause Ecclesiastical*, then subscription would be unlawful. And yet this *very right* has been admitted by the bishop himself in the fullest and most practical way, by pleading without protest, before the Queen in Council, in reference to the Church’s doctrine on a Holy Sacrament. And, still more, by doing all that his office of bishop required of him, to carry its sentence into effect, and to recognize its validity. His Lordship cannot mean to distinguish between the doctrine of God’s word, and the doctrine of the Church, for this would be to assume that the one may be different from the other. But then I do not see how to escape the conclusion, that he has sanctioned by his own proceedings, what in these “Considerations” he has pronounced to be inadmissible.

Note B.

I have recently seen a pamphlet entitled “An Appeal to Rome.” A few years ago it would have been thought impossible that such a production could proceed from the pen of a clergyman of the established church. It maintains that the questions now so deeply agitating that church ought to be referred to the decision of the Pope, and the writer, an English clergyman, who does not seem to stand alone in his opinions, avows his readiness to submit to the decision of His Holiness. In the mean while he declines leaving the English church, on the ground that the Pope has never authoritatively condemned adherence to it.

In reference to this last point, attention is called to the following passages in the Bull of Pius V. against Queen Elizabeth.

“Usu namque veræ religionis, quam ab illius desertore Henrico VIII. olim eversam, claræ memoriæ Maria, regina legitima hujus sedis præsidio reparaverat, potenti manu

inhibito, secutisque et amplexis hæreticorum erroribus, regium consilium ex Anglica nobilitate confectum diremit, illudque obscuris hominibus hæreticis complevit, catholicæ fidei cultores oppressit, improbos concionatores atque impietatum administros reposuit; missæ sacrificium, preces, jejunia, ciborum delectum, cælibatum, ritusque catholicos abolevit; libros, manifestam hæresim continentes, toto regno proponi, impia mysteria et instituta ad Calvin præscriptum a se suscepta, et observata, etiam a subditis servari mandavit; Illius itaque auctoritate suffulti, qui nos in hoc supremo justitiæ throno, licet tanto operi impares, voluit collocare, de apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine declaramus prædictam Elizabetham hæreticam et hæreticorum fautricem, eique adhærentes in prædictis anathematis sententiam incurrisse, esseque a Christi corporis unitate præcisos," &c.

THE END.



